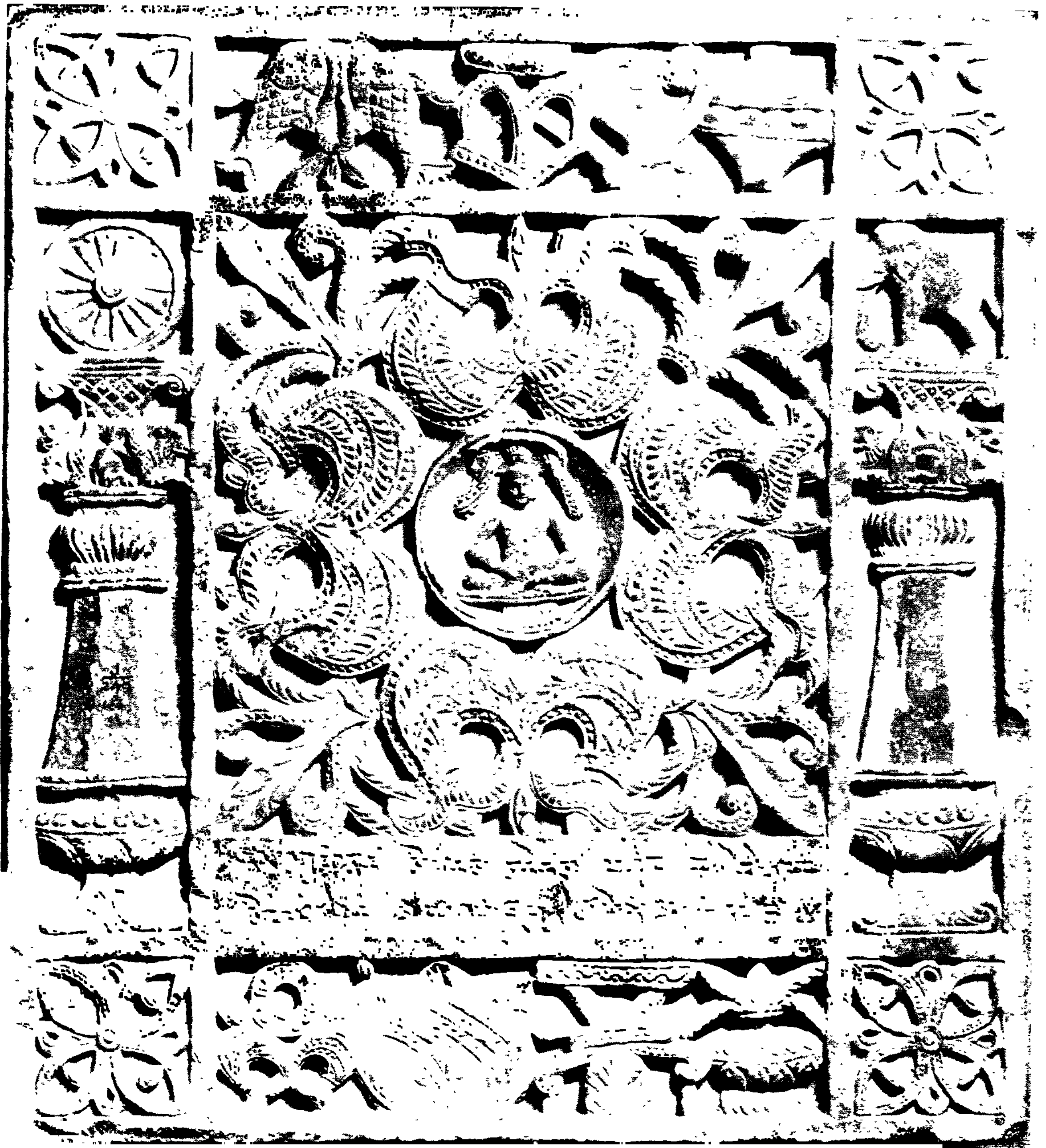


Āyāgapaṭa found at Kaṅkālī Tīlā: Lucknow Provincial Museum

THE "SCYTHIAN" PERIOD

AN APPROACH TO THE HISTORY, ART, EPIGRAPHY AND PALAEOGRAPHY OF NORTH INDIA FROM THE 1ST CENTURY B.C. TO THE 3RD CENTURY A.D.

PROEFSCHRIFT TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT TE UTRECHT, OP GEZAG VAN DE RECTOR MAGNIFICUS DR H. WAGENVOORT, HOOGLERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE, VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN DE SENAAT DER UNIVERSITEIT TEGEN DE BEDENKINGEN VAN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE TE VERDEDIGEN OP VRIJDAG 1 JULI 1949 DES NAMIDDAGS TE DRIE UUR

DOOR

JOHANNA ENGELBERTA VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW
GEBOREN TE AMSTERDAM



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1949

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO

THE MEMORY OF

NICOLAAS JOHANNES KROM

PROFESSOR AT LEYDEN UNIVERSITY

† 8TH MARCH 1945

A DEVOTED AND INDEFATIGABLE WORKER IN
THE FIELD OF HINDU-JAVANESE ARCHAEOLOGY

PROMOTOR:

PROF. DR J. GONDA

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

At the conclusion of this work I feel compelled to look back with gratitude upon all those who have been of assistance to me during the writing of this, whether as friend or as guide.

To begin with, my thoughts take me back again to my first years of study in Leyden, and to you especially, Professor VOGEL. It was you who guided my first steps into Indian Archaeology and Sanskrit. The choice of the subject of this work in which Mathurā plays such an important part, although you exercised no direct influence on this, was undoubtedly also due to the extensive work which you have done in this domain.

It is, alas, impossible for me to thank here my second Leyden teacher, the deeply mourned Professor KROM, for all the friendship and knowledge he conferred upon me. By dedicating the fruits of my three years labour to his memory, I have endeavoured to express my gratitude. The example set by this most modest and hard-working scholar will always be before me.

Professor KUIPER, although by force of circumstances I was your pupil for only a short time, I am greatly obliged to you for your thorough grounding in Sanskrit.

To you also, Professor FRIEDMANN, esteemed friend, I extend my sincere thanks for your tuition in Pālī and the knowledge of Buddhism.

Further I acknowledge with gratitude the share that you, Professor BYVANCK, Dr. LEOPOLD, Dr. HOLWERDA and Dr. VOLLGRAFF-ROES have had in my academic training.

I consider it to be an immense privilege that for several years I was able to attend the inspiring lectures of the late lamented Professor LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER.

War conditions forced me to finish my studies at the University of Utrecht. My sincerest thanks to you, Professor BOSCH, for the manner in which you received me at Utrecht after the closing down of Leyden University, as well as for the tuition you gave me.

When I only now address myself to you, Professor GONDA, esteemed Promoter, it is by no means because you are the last to whom my thanks are due, but because, on the one hand, it is not easy to express one's thankfulness, when seventeenth in a row of promovendi(ae), in a way that will not give the impression of being merely a repetition of the glowing words of gratitude of my predecessors, while on the other hand I wish to end my expression of thanks to my teachers with you to whom, in my last years of study, I am so infinitely indebted. There is so much that I must thank you for; where to begin? First of all for the instruction I received from you in these past years. I think above all, of the clandestine lectures in Pālī at your home, during enemy occupation —the commencement of a continual hospitality for which I also heartily thank Mrs. GONDA. Above all I am exceedingly grateful for the, also by my predecessors highly praised, warmhearted interest that you take in the studies and personal lives of your pupils.

Your tremendous energy for work and the extent and depth of your knowledge fill me with admiration. It is my sincere wish that after the finish of this dissertation I may remain in contact with you, and also that in the future I may profit by your great experience.

There remains for me to convey my thanks to the staff of the Kern Institute and of the Leyden University Library, and to my friends at the Sinological Institute, especially HULSEWÉ, KRAMERS and VOS, who have been of great help to me by translating the Chinese and Japanese texts.

To the Ministry of Education, Art and Science ("Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen") and to the British Federation of University Women I am deeply grateful for the manner in which they afforded me the opportunity of making study-tours, in connection with the subject of my dissertation, to Oslo, London and Paris. The visit to Oslo was especially important, owing to personal contact with the late Professor KONOW, and also with Professor MORGENSTIERNE, which greatly helped to formulate my ideas.

On account of his objections to my conceptions Professor KONOW has forced me to express my arguments accurately and I regret exceedingly that this book only now appears after his death, so that there is no longer an opportunity for him to put forward his own views.

If the English of this book will stand the test of criticism this is thanks to the devoted care which Mrs. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG gave to it.

That I was always fortunate enough to be able to reckon my parents to both categories mentioned at the beginning of these lines: guides and friends, is a source of great joy and gratitude.

In these days in which the rights of women, and especially the rights of the married woman in the Netherlands are being again pushed into the background, it is an advantage that cannot be too highly appreciated when a woman with scientific interests finds in her life-partner one who not only tolerates those interests, but, on every possible occasion, stimulates and encourages her to proceed.

That, as a proof of my heart-felt gratitude, I have not dedicated this work to my husband is due to my knowledge that this would not be agreeable to his inherent modesty. To set down my infinite thanks in a few sentences on paper is impossible for me, and it is therefore sufficient to state *here* that the support of my husband, together with the beneficial harmony in our relations have been the fructifying elements of which this dissertation is the result.

PREFATORY NOTE

As one becomes more acquainted with the problems of the art of North India a striking peculiarity occurs, namely, that classical archaeologists are numerous among the scholars who occupied themselves with the art of Gandhāra. In particular the question regarding the origin and antiquity of the Buddha image seems to have a continual fascination for this category of scholars. It appears recommendable to cast a light upon this subject from the point of view of Indian Archaeology. Moreover, we think that these problems cannot be dealt with properly without a thorough study of that other simultaneously flourishing art centre: Mathurā.

A second requirement in connection with all this is a solution of the question regarding the eras. Starting from Professor KONOW's point of view we were forced during our researches into the data to alter our opinions. Professor THIEL rightly remarked in his inaugural address: "... that a younger generation always looks upon matters with different eyes than the previous generation" and "... that even well-known, much studied material remains new, if the investigator knows what he is searching for and uses his own independent judgement."

Even if in the future, however, our opinions concerning the eras should unfortunately prove to be incorrect, in spite of that, the chronological sequence we have indicated would retain its value; just as does the line of development sketched by us of the art of Gandhāra, as well as that of Mathurā.

In order to avoid confusion we have, when calculating dates of the old era, followed the system of BANERJI, BACHHOFER and others. We are, however, conscious that it would have been more correct to add one year to those dates which fall after Christ.

Concerning the inscriptions discussed in Chapters IV, V and VI, we hope that our reading and translation of these is an improvement on the ones already published. In our translations the names, titles, etc., are given as they occur in the original texts. That which

is placed between brackets is uncertain; where a question-mark is added a supplementary proposal is indicated; in cases where two readings of an akṣara are possible, the second is placed between brackets with "or". Regarding the passages from Chinese texts we referred to the existing translations, but these are not quoted literally, as they have been re-translated for us.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

THE ERAS

The uncertainty regarding the eras, and particularly the one which was customary in the time of Emperor Kaniṣka and his successors, has continually been a stumbling block to every discussion that went somewhat deeper into the problems of the early history of North India. The history of art also would be greatly benefitted by a definite determination of the starting-point of these eras, because in that way, all sculptures from the Kuṣāṇa and Post-Kuṣāṇa periods which are dated could be specified, and so we would be able to get a rather complete survey of the development which the art at Mathurā passed through from Kuṣāṇa art, via the Post-Kuṣāṇa period to the Gupta time.

However, not only would the art of Mathurā and the Guptas, in short, North Indian art profit by this, but we would be able to draw several more definite conclusions concerning the date of the art of North-West India, id est of Gandhāra, if we knew the starting-point of the eras used, as several sculptures of the school mentioned bear dates. Up till now the most contradictory hypotheses about the date of North-West Indian art have been disseminated, while not one of them has given convincing proof of being right, because this problem, as we shall see further on, is closely connected with the question as to in which year Kaniṣka began to reign.

Up to the present day no agreement has been reached on this point and "no solution has been found which has met with general acceptance" [1]).

In 1874, EDWARD THOMAS [2]) proposed to consider the era of

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1) S. KONOW, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, part I, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka*, Calcutta 1929, p. LXXXIII, henceforth abbreviated as *Corpus*.

2) E. THOMAS, *Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates, The Academy*, 26 Dec 1874, pp. 686-687.

Kaniṣka as the Seleucidian era which began in the year 312 B.C. [or as the Parthian era which began in 248 B.C.], in which the hundreds were omitted in the dates in the time of Kaniṣka and his successors, so that one must then consider the years 3-98 as 303-398 of the Seleucidian era = 9 B.C.-86 A.D. [or instead 203-298 of the Parthian era = 45 B.C.-50 A.D.].

CUNNINGHAM first thought that the dates of the time of Kaniṣka and his successors had to be ascribed to the Vikrama era, beginning in 57 B.C., later on he agreed to the Seleucidian era [3]).

VOGEL [4]) used that same era for the dates on different images found in Gandhāra, "inter alia" that of Loriyān Tāṅgai, Jamālgaṛhī, the Hashtnagar pedestal and the image of Skārah Ḍherī.

BÜHLER [5]) hesitated between the opinion of CUNNINGHAM and the possibility that the dates of the Kaniṣka dynasty together with that of the copper plate from Taxila, dated in the year 78 of an unknown era, had to be ascribed to the era used on the āyāgapaṭa of Āmohinī dated in the year 72 of an unknown era [6]).

VINCENT SMITH suggested the possibility that the Caesarean era of Antioch, which began in 49 or 48 B.C., was used to date the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī [7]). Beforehand, VINCENT SMITH, supposing that the hundreds and thousands had been omitted, had also argued the use of the Saptarṣi era, or Laukika era [8]) in which

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3) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Archaeological Survey Reports of India,* vol. II, Simla 1871, p. 68; henceforth abbreviated as *Arch. Surv. Rep.; Coins of the Kushāns, or Great Yue-ti, Numismatic Chronicle,* 3rd series, vol. XII, London 1892, pp. 40-82, esp. p. 44; henceforth abbreviated as *Num. Chron.*

4) J. PH. VOGEL, *Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* 1903-'04, p. 259; henceforth abbreviated as *A.S.I.A.R.*

5) G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie,* Strassburg 1896, § 19 B.

6) G. BÜHLER, *Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathurā, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* vol. X, Wien 1896, pp. 171-174; henceforth abbreviated as *W.Z.K.M.*

7) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties from about 120 B.C.-100 A.D., Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* vol. 60, Leipzig 1906, pp. 49-72, esp. p. 71; henceforth abbreviated as *Z.D.M.G.*

8) V. SMITH, *Chronology of the Kuṣān Dynasty of Northern India, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* London 1902, p. 175; henceforth abbreviated as *J.R.A.S.*; *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History, B.C. 165-A.D. 320, J.R.A.S.,* 1903, pp. 1-64, esp. p. 7.

the numbers for 100 and for 1000 are omitted [9]). GROWSE had already proposed this solution in 1877 [10]).

SYLVAIN LÉVI thought that the Kaniṣka era started about 50 B.C. [11]).

The Maurya era which began in the year 322 B.C. was proposed by BANERJI [12]) and FOUCHER [13]) as the era to which the dates of Kaniṣka "cum suis" could be ascribed, in which again the hundreds would have been omitted.

Many other eras have been brought into the field of this discussion. BÜHLER suggested an era which had its starting-point between 137-112 B.C. [14]). MARSHALL recommended an era for the copper plate of Taxila which might have been established by Moga in the year 95 B.C. [15]). BANERJI recommended one started by Vonones in 100 B.C. [16]), RAPSON one which began about 150 B.C. [17]), JAYASWAL one in 120 B.C. [18]) and TARN one in 155 B.C. [19]).

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9) See A. CUNNINGHAM, *Book of Indian Eras with Tables for Calculating Indian Dates,* Calcutta 1883, pp. 6-17.

10) F. S. GROWSE, *Mathurā Inscriptions, The Indian Antiquary,* vol. 6, Bombay 1877, pp. 216-219, esp. p. 218-219; henceforth abbreviated as *Ind. Ant.,* and *Mathurā, A District Memoir,* 2nd ed., North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1880, pp. 105-106.

11) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, I. Les contes, Journal Asiatique,* 9e série, tome VIII, Paris 1896, pp. 444-484; *II. Les textes historiques,* 9e série, tome IX, 1897, pp. 5-26; *III. Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo,* pp. 27-42, esp. p. 42; henceforth abbreviated as *J.A.*

12) R. D. BANERJI, *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 37, 1908, pp. 25-75, esp. p. 67.

13) A. FOUCHER, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* Paris 1905-1923, vol. II, pp. 484 seq.; henceforth abbreviated as *A.G.B.*

14) G. BÜHLER, *A New Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Swat, W.Z.K.M.,* vol. X, 1896, pp. 55-58 and 327.

15) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1914, pp. 973-986.

16) R. D. BANERJI, *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 37, 1908, pp. 25-75, esp. p. 67.

17) E. J. RAPSON, *The Cambridge History of India,* vol. I, *Ancient India,* Cambridge 1922, p. 570; henceforth abbreviated as *C.H.I.*

18) K. P. JAYASWAL, *The Statue of Wema Kadphises and Kushan Chronology, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* vol. VI, Patna 1920, pp. 12-22, esp. p. 21; henceforth abbreviated as *J.B.O.R.S.*; by the same author *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.,* vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316, esp. p. 240.

19) W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* Cambridge 1938, pp. 494-502; henceforth abbreviated as TARN.

CUNNINGHAM proposed, as we saw, to identify the Kaniṣka era with the Vikrama era beginning in 57 B.C., an hypothesis to which FLEET [20]), FRANKE [21]), LÜDERS [22]), KENNEDY [23]) and BARNETT [24]) gave strong support. DOWSON used the Vikrama era specially for the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī [25]). MARSHALL thinks that this era was used in the inscriptions of 134 and 136 [26]). Recently MAJUMDAR proposed this era for the inscriptions of Loriyān Tāṅgai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Ḍherī [27]). And GHIRSHMAN proposes to regard it as the era used in practically all the older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions [28]), while he suggests 144 A.D. as the starting-point of Kaniṣka's reign, and a separate Maues era for the Taxila inscription.

First agreeing with CUNNINGHAM that Kaniṣka flourished in

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20) J. F. FLEET, *A hitherto unrecognised Kushaṇ king*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 325-334; *St. Thomas and Gondophernes*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 223-236; *The Date in the Takht-i-Bahi Inscription*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 706-711; *The traditional Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 979-992; *The Early Use of the Era of B.C. 58*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 169-172; *Moga, Maues and Vonones*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 1013-1040; *The Introduction of the Greek Uncial and Cursive Characters into India*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 177-186; *The Question of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 95-107; *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 913-920 and 965-1011; *Review* of E. J. RAPSON's *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the first Century A.D.*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 795-799; *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 987-992; *The Taxila Inscription of the Year 136*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 992-999; *The Taxila Scroll of the Year 136*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 314-318.

21) O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, *Abhandlungen Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*. Berlin 1904, Phil.-hist. Abhandl. I, p. 99.

22) H. LÜDERS, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, *Kön. Preuss. Turfan-Expeditionen*, *Kleinere Sanskrit Texte*, Heft I, Berlin 1911, p. 11.

23) J. KENNEDY, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 920-939.

24) BARNETT, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 942-945.

25) J. DOWSON, *Notes on a Bactrian Pali Inscription and the Samvat Era*, *J.R.A.S.*, New Series, vol. VII, London 1875, pp. 376-383, esp. p. 382 and *Further Note on a Bactrian Pali Inscription and the Samvat Era*, *J.R.A.S.*, New Series, vol. IX, 1877, pp. 144-146.

26) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973-986.

27) N. G. MAJUMDAR, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, part II, *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra*, Delhi 1937, p. 19.

28) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, tome XII, le Caire 1946, pp. 105-108.

the beginning of the 1st century A.D. 29), FERGUSSON later on changed his mind and put the beginning of the Kaniṣka era in the year 78 A.D., so that this era therefore coincided with, and was the same as the Śaka era 30). OLDENBERG agreed with him 31) but later on 32) he supported BOYER, who thought that Kaniṣka came to the throne in 90 A.D. 33).

BHANDARKAR did not only ascribe the inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors to the Śaka era, but all other dates in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. In the dates of the inscriptions of Kaniṣka "cum suis" he supposed that 200 had always been omitted, so that Kaniṣka lived about 278 A.D. 34). He suggested Vonones 35) to be the founder of the Śaka era; BHĀU DĀJI 36), BOYER 37) and FLEET, Nahapāna 38); JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, Caṣṭana 39).

29) J. FERGUSSON, *On Indian Chronology, J.R.A.S.*, New Series, vol. IV, 1870, pp. 81-137, esp. p. 97.

30) J. FERGUSSON, *On the Saka, Samvat and Gupta Eras, J.R.A.S.*. New Series, vol. XII, 1880, pp. 259-285.

31) H. OLDENBERG, *Über die Datierung der ältern indischen Münz- und Inschriftreihen, Zeitschrift für Numismatik,* vol. 8, Berlin 1881, pp. 289-328, esp. p. 292.

32) H. OLDENBERG, *Zwei Aufsätze zur altindischen Chronologie und Literaturgeschichte.* 1. *Zur Frage nach der Aera des Kaniṣka, Nachrichten von der Kön. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1911, pp. 427-441, esp. p. 441.

33) A. M. BOYER, *L'époque de Kaniṣka, J.A.*, 9e série, tome XV, Paris 1900, pp. 526-579, esp. pp. 578-579.

34) R. G. and D. R. BHANDARKAR, *A Peep into the Early History of India from the Foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the Downfall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, B.C. 322-circa 500 A.D.*, 2nd ed. Bombay 1930. First published in: *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. XX, Bombay 1902, pp. 356-408, esp. p. 386; henceforth abbreviated as *J.B.B.R.A.S.*

35) D. R. BHANDARKAR, *A Kushana stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era, J.B.B.R.A S.,* vol. XX, Bombay 1902, pp. 269-302, esp. p. 293.

36) BHĀU DĀJI, *The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of Kālakāchārya, J.B.B.R.A.S.,* vol. IX, 1867-1870, Bombay 1872, pp. 139-146, esp. p. 145.

37) A. M. BOYER, *Nahapāna et l'ère Çaka, J.A.,* 9e série, tome X, Paris 1897, pp. 120-151, esp. p. 123 seq.

38) J. F. FLEET, *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 965-1011, esp. p. 992.

39) G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, *Ancient History of the Deccan,* Pondicherry 1920, p. 26.

KONOW's opinion in the *Corpus* is that the Śaka era was not used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and that Wima Kadphises [40]) had introduced it; while, according to him, the opening date of Kaniṣka's reign falls in the year 127-128 A.D. Later on he changed his opinion about this date, which he then put as 130 A.D. Recently he believed that this could be still later, and even about the year 138 A.D. [41]).

RAPSON was, together with JAYASWAL, among those very few, who after the numerous articles on this subject published by KONOW still kept to the idea that Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era.

As KONOW's opinion is, at the present time, generally accepted as the most authoritative amongst the excess of hypotheses and theories, it is necessary to go into it more in detail.

Partly on account of the intricacy of the subject, and partly because KONOW does not indicate clearly on what his usually somewhat apodictic pronouncements are based, it is (in the beginning) difficult to find a way out of this maze of theories and hypotheses always depending on each other which KONOW has composed concerning the eras used in the centuries round about the beginning of our Christian era.

The starting-point is, however, the inscription on a silver scroll found by Sir JOHN MARSHALL at Taxila. We give the text here in full as MARSHALL read and translated it, and with several improvements added later by KONOW:

1. "Sa 1 100 20 10 4 1 1 ayasa ashaḍasa masasa divase 10 4 1 iśa diva(se pradi)stavita bhagavato dhatu(o) Ura(sa)-
2. keṇa (Iṃ)tavhriaputraṇa Bahalieṇa Ṇoachae ṇagare vastaveṇa Teṇa ime pradistavita bhagavato dhatuo dhamara-
3. ïe Takshaśi(la)e taṇuvae bosi[dhi]satvagahami maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa arogadakshiṇae
4. sarva(bu)dhaṇa puyae prach(e)gabhudhaṇa puyae araha(ta)ṇa pu(ya)e sarvasa(tva)ṇa puyae matapitu puyae mitramachaña-tisa-

40) *Corpus*, p. LXVII.

41) Since this was written KONOW again abandoned this view for a still later date, see below p. 16 and note 75.

5. lohi(ta)ṇa (pu)yae atvaṇa arogadakshiṇae Ṇivaṇae hotu a(ya) de samaparichago."

Translation:

"Anno 136, on the 15. day of the first month Ashāḍha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka, of the Iṃtavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Ṇoacha. By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshaśilā, for the bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Khushāṇa, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of the Arhats, in honour of all beings, in honour of mother and father, in honour of friends, ministers, kinsmen, and blood-relations, for the bestowal of health upon himself.

May this thy right munificence lead to Nirvāṇa." [42])

The great difference between MARSHALL and KONOW lay in their interpretation of the word *ayasa*. MARSHALL understood this word as a genitive of the name Azes, but because in the inscription a mahārājā rājātirājā devaputra Kuṣāṇa is mentioned, and further, as all titles of Azes are lacking, then according to MARSHALL, he could not be the reigning monarch at that moment, and he consequently explained the appearance of that name at the beginning of the inscription by supposing that the era in which the piece was dated was established by Azes, and that the genitive of Azes did not refer to the year of his reign, but to the era which he instituted [43]). Moreover, this hypothetical Azes era would be the same as the Vikrama era.

KONOW first agreed with MARSHALL, only he supposed that Azes was still reigning when the inscription was issued, viz. as king of Ṇoaca [44]). Later on he raised objections, firstly, that no other examples were extant of such an Azes era. FLEET had already

42) *Corpus*, p. 77.

43) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973-986.

44) S. KONOW, *Indoskytische Beiträge, Sitz. Ber. der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin 1916, Band II, pp. 787-827, esp. p. 803; henceforth abbreviated as *S.B.A.W.*

stated "inter alia" [45]) that then there must have been two chronological systems in use at that time, which evidently overlapped each other, namely, this supposed Azes era and the chronological system used in other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of this time.

The chief objection is, according to KONOW, the fact that in this case together with the date the name of a monarch is mentioned who did not reign when the inscription was written, while it was always the custom in the older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions to add the name of a king, in the genitive, to the date, showing that that person was the reigning monarch at that moment [46]).

Consequently KONOW proposes to interpret the word *ayasa* differently, and, indeed, as an adjective to the word *aṣadaṣa.*

According to him *ayasa* may have been derived from the Sanskrit *ādyasya* via *ajja*: *ādyasya* > *adiyasa*; *ādyasya* > *ajjasa* > { *ājasa* / *āyasa* } [47]).

The significance of this must be that in the year in question there were two months Āṣāḍha, one of which was indicated as the first Āṣāḍha [48]). Such a case happens very sporadically in the Indian calendar. VAN WIJK calculated, at KONOW's request, according to the rules of the Siddhāntas which probably were in use at that time, that between the years 48-78 A.D. such an occurrence only took place in the years 52 and 71 A.D. [49]). This limit was given by KONOW as, according to him, the inscription could not be later than 78 A.D. and the era in which it was dated could not have started earlier than 88 B.C. According to KONOW, in connection with the copper plate of Taxila, and the inscription on

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45) J. F. FLEET, *The Taxila Inscription of the Year 136, J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 992-999.

46) *Corpus*, p. 72. 47) *Corpus*, p. 73.

48) This idea was proposed earlier already by A. M. BOYER, *L'inscription en Kharoṣṭhī du 15 Āṣāḍha 136, J.A.*, 11e série, tome V, 1915, pp. 281-298, esp. p. 287 and D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*. XXI: *The Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136, Ind. Ant.*, vol. 45, 1916, pp. 120-122.

49) S. KONOW and W. E. VAN WYK, *The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Acta Orientalia*, vol. III, Leiden 1925, pp. 52-91, esp. p. 76; henceforth abbreviated *Acta Or.*

the votive tablet of Āmohinī, of the two possibilities pointed out by VAN WIJK, the year 52 A.D. would be more suitable, so that the era used in the older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions would begin in the year 84-83 B.C.

For the determination of the beginning of Kaniṣka's era KONOW in the same way made use of several astronomical statements in some inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors.

The inscription found at Zeda is dated as follows: "saṃ 10 1 aṣaḍasa masasa di 20 utaraphaguṇe" [50]). ("The year 11, the 20th day of the month Āṣāḍha in Uttaraphālgunī".) The coincidence of the 20th day of Āṣāḍha with the nakṣatra Uttaraphālgunī is rather unusual. Besides this, in the inscription of Uṇḍ, the following dates are mentioned: "saṃ 20 20 20 1 cetrasa maha(sa)sa divase aṭhami di 4 4 iśa kṣunami sa(vi)rana kha...... purvaṣaḍe" [51]). ("The year 61, on the 8th day, d. 8, of the month Caitra in Pūrvāṣāḍha".) So here again is the coincidence of the nakṣatra Pūrvāṣāḍha with the 8th day of the month Caitra.

VAN WIJK calculated for KONOW what could be the first year of Kaniṣka's era, if both conditions, mentioned in the inscriptions of Zeda and Uṇḍ, were fulfilled. He found as possible dates the years 79, 117, and 134.

On grounds of the fact that the Chinese historical sources, which after the year 125 A.D. would be silent about North-West India, contain no information about Kaniṣka, KONOW thinks that Kaniṣka therefore must have lived after the year 125, and consequently the year 134 is the most acceptable as the starting-point of his era [52]). He adds the argument that, if the inscription of Khalatse (ascribed by him to the old Śaka era dated in the year 184 or 187 and in which Wima Kadphises is mentioned) should date from the year 103-104 A.D., then the reign of Kaniṣka could not, in any case, have begun before that time. Besides, the inscription of Khalatse is used as a proof for his opinion that the Śaka era was not establish-

50) *Corpus*, p. 145.
51) *Corpus*, p. 171.
52) S. KONOW and W. E. VAN WYK, *The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions*. *Acta Or.*, vol. III, 1925, pp. 77-79.

ed by Kaniṣka but by Wima Kadphises himself: "... our inscription furnishes the proof that the historical Śaka era was not instituted by Kanishka, provided that it couples the name of Wima Kadphises with the year 187 or 184. For we know that Wima Kadphises preceded Kanishka, and it is even probable that he was separated from him by an interval. And it is impossible to push the beginning of the old Saka era so far back that the year 187 or 184 can fall earlier than A.D. 78.

"It also shows that the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushaṇa* of the Taxila scroll, which is dated fifty years earlier, cannot well be Wima Kadphises, because it is hardly conceivable that he, who succeeded an octogenarian father, should have ruled for fifty years.

"On the other hand, our inscription does not militate against my ascription of the institution of the historical Śaka era to Wima Kadphises, because that reckoning was instituted in commemoration of the overthrow of the national Indian dynasty, which had ousted the Sakas in Mālava, and there was no reason for introducing it into those provinces where the old Saka supremacy was still in force and the old Saka era had not been abolished." [53])

A few years later VAN WIJK surmised that in India the nakṣatras were calculated at those times according to a system of uneven lengths [54]). According to this calculation only the year 128-129 A.D. would come into consideration as the starting-point of the Kaniṣka era, and this is also the date given by KONOW in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* [55]).

Some years later, when KONOW suggested that the Khalatse inscription referred to the Vikrama era [56]), this inscription dated, according to him, even from the year 130 A.D., which was a convincing proof for him that Kaniṣka began to reign after that year.

So KONOW assumed that in the centuries before and after Christ there were in North-West India five eras in use which greatly overlapped each other.

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53) *Corpus*, pp. 80-81. The inconsequence in the spelling of the word Śaka—Saka in this and other quotations is KONOW's own.

54) W. E. VAN WYK, *On dates in the Kaniṣka Era. Acta Or.*, vol. V, 1927, pp. 168-170. 55) *Corpus*, p. XCIII. 56) See pp. 11-14.

1—The old Śaka era of 84/83 B.C. for all older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.
2—The Vikrama era, used on the Āmohinī tablet [57]) and in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.
3—The Azes era, also used in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, starting about 7-6 B.C. [58]).
4—The Śaka era, used in the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas.
5—The Kaniṣka era of 128/129 A.D. for all new Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In 1932 a copper plate was found at Kalawān by Sir JOHN MARSHALL, bearing an inscription which induced KONOW to revise his opinion about the starting-point of the old Śaka era [59]).

The inscription gives the date at the beginning in the following words: "saṃvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 ...".

The discovery of a second inscription, in which *ayasa* or a rather homonymous word written immediately after the date, knocked to pieces KONOW's hypothesis regarding an explanation of *ayasa* as *ādyasya*. as it is impossible that in the year 134 the month Āṣāḍha appears twice, and only two years later, namely in 136, the month Śrāvaṇa appears twice. Therefore KONOW retracts his theory about an old Śaka era commencing in 84/83 B.C.; agrees with MARSHALL that *ayasa* and *ajasa* must in both cases be a genitive of the name Azes, and says that in the case of some of the older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions we have to do with the Vikrama era, such as, for example, the one on the Āmohinī tablet. Besides we must assume that there was still an older chronology which was

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57) *Corpus*, p. XXXIV. RAPSON also believes that this date refers to the Vikrama era; as an argument in favour of this he brings forward that the month is given in Indian fashion, which includes according to him, that the era is an Indian one. We do not see the validity of this argument in view of the numerous inscriptions in an Indian (viz. Brāhmī) script of the Kuṣāṇas (who were foreigners) which also give the month in the Indian way.

58) *Corpus* XLIV and *The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Acta Or.*, vol. III, pp. 60 seq.

59) S. KONOW, *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, pp. 949-965.

used in the Patika copper plate and perhaps in some others, such as the inscriptions of Maira, Mānsehrā, Shahdaur, Fatehjang, Muchai, and the group of Loriyān Tāṅgai, Jamālgaṛhī, Hashtnagar and Skārah Ḍherī [60]).

Continuing, KONOW argues as follows: "... If the dates of the Āmohinī tablet of the year 72, the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, the Panjtār record of 122, the Kalawān plate of 134, and the Taxila scroll of 136 are referred to elapsed Kārttikādi Vikrama years, they roughly correspond to A.D. 14, 46, 65, 77, and 79 respectively. We should accordingly have to infer that Gondophernes was on the throne in A.D. 46, having perhaps come to power in A.D. 20. In A.D. 65 the Kuṣāṇas had reached Panjtār and probably also Takṣaśilā, and in 79, and presumably already in A.D. 77, the Kuṣāṇas had already been established in the previous Pahlava realm for some time. It seems to follow that the latest date for the sack of Sirkap was in A.D. 65. It can hardly have taken place much earlier, because Gondophernes seems to have had successors.

"The silver vase with an inscription of the (Sa)ka year 191, during the reign of Jihoṇika, was found in Sirkap, and consequently belongs to the pre-Kuṣāṇa period. It is much worn, and may have been about twenty-five years old when it was buried, at the sack of Sirkap. If such were the case, the approximate epoch of the Saka era would be 191-40 = about 150 B.C. This is, of course, nothing more than a mere estimate, but it seems to be supported by another line of argument.

"The Āmohinī tablet seems to show that Ṣoḍāsa (*sic*) was a Mahākṣatrapa in A.D. 14. He was a Kṣatrapa when the Mathurā Lion Capital was set up. At that time his father Rājula (*sic*) was Mahākṣatrapa, and the same was the case with Patika, who, in his turn, was not even a Kṣatrapa in the Saka year 78. We cannot, of course, say how long time would be likely to pass between Ṣoḍāsa's rule as Kṣatrapa and his promotion to the rank of Mahākṣatrapa, or how long it would take for Patika, who was apparently a young

60) S. KONOW, ibidem, p. 956. See also *Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology*, *The Journal of Indian History*, vol. XII, Madras 1933, p. 4; henceforth abbreviated as *J.I.H.*

man in the Saka year 78, to become Mahākṣatrapa. A few years might be sufficient. But if we suppose, for the sake of argument, that Ṣoḍāsa was 65 years old in A.D. 14 and 25 at the time of the setting up of the Lion Capital, that event would approximately belong to 25 B.C. If the Mahākṣatrapa Patika were about 65 years old at that time, and about 20 at the date of the Taxila copper plate, the latter would roughly belong to 70 B.C., and its epoch would be c. 79 + 78 = 148 B.C. (*sic*).

"If we assume an epoch of the old Saka era to be about 150 B.C., we should like to find out how it was established, and here again we are reduced to mere guesses." [61])

When the two above discussed old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions refer to the Azes—alias Vikrama era, then KONOW [62]) understands this "Azes" as "current under Azes", and not "established by": and he assumes that the name Azes remained connected to the Vikrama era in later generations.

The absence of any royal title attached to the name of Azes is indeed quite exceptional and therefore even KONOW's explanation, though not impossible, is not satisfactory [63]). In our opinion the word *ayasa* is the Sanskrit *āryasa* and this corroborates with the solution given by BANERJI-SASTRI who pointed out the special sanctity of Āṣāḍha and Śrāvaṇa testified by numerous passages, while a quotation from the *Abhidhānarājendra* shows that these two months were actually denoted as *Aryā*ṣāḍha [64]).

Returning to our subject it is important to note that KONOW comes along with all sorts of arguments from which it appears very

61) *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, pp. 957-958 and *Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology*, *J.I.H.*, vol. XII, p. 4.

62) *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 953

63) GHIRSHMAN tries to refute this objection by the argument that in Persia an inscription was found mentioning Ardashir and Shahpur I also without titles We are not convinced by this. Persia is not India, and up till now no other Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī inscription is known in which a monarch is mentioned simply by his name without any title or further indications. R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, tome XII, le Caire 1946, p. 105

64) A. BANERJI-SASTRI, *The Aya Months*, *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. 23, 1937, pp. 261-268.

probable that the mahārājā rājātirāja devaputra Kuṣāṇa mentioned in the inscription on the silver scroll of Taxila is Kujūla Kadphises. Now if the date is calculated according to the Vikrama era, the piece originates from the year 79 A.D.; if one accepts that Kujūla Kadphises was still ruling in the year 79 A.D., then it is impossible that the Śaka era which begins in 78 A.D. could have been instituted by Kaniṣka who was his son's successor; but apart from that the Khalatse inscription of 187, in which probably Wima Kadphises is mentioned, dates, counting by the Vikrama era, from the year 130 A.D. (KONOW writes on page 964, 139 A.D., but this must be a mistake), so that the beginning of Kaniṣka's rule and with that the era used by him and his successors must start later than the year 130 A.D. The Śaka era of 78 A.D. was then, according to KONOW, introduced by Wima Kadphises when he conquered Mālava, and carried on by his satraps there, the Western Kṣatrapas.

Besides this, KONOW's opinion was now that, in part of the older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the old Śaka era of about 150 B.C. was used, in another part the Vikrama era of 57 B.C., and that the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions used the Kaniṣka era which began after 130 A.D. This last group of later inscriptions is rather easily distinguished from the rest, because in their contents they mostly mention a royalty of the Kaniṣka dynasty. The distinction between the inscriptions of the older group using the Vikrama era, and that which was supposed to use the old Śaka era, is not clear; this was not plain to KONOW either and depends more on the fact whether the internal evidence was more suited, in his opinion, to the one era than to the other.

In the following year, 1933, he published a study about this subject entitled *Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology* [65]), in which for the epoch of the old Śaka era he takes the middle of the 2nd century B.C., namely, 145 B.C. [66]), while he accepts 128/129 A.D. as the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign [67]).

65) S. KONOW, *Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology*, *J.I.H.*, vol. XII, pp. 1-46.
66) Ibidem, p. 19.
67) Ibidem, p. 44.

In 1934, a year later, an article appeared in the *K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume* [68]), in which KONOW brings to the front his former hypothesis that the year 84 B.C. was the starting-point of an old Śaka era. Presumably this publication was laid aside for a long time before being printed and was ousted, in the meantime, by the discovery and publication of the copper plate of Kalawān in 1932. If this is not the case then we must conclude that KONOW reverted to his opinion of 1929.

In 1937 an inscription was published by MAJUMDAR which he had discovered at Chārsadda, dating from 303 of an unknown era [69]). Lately this inscription was again minutely reviewed by KONOW [70]), in which he differs from MAJUMDAR in various respects. A propos of the date 303 KONOW adds a note to this article in which he declares that, in his eyes, the inscriptions from Loriyān Tāṅgai, Jamālgaṛhī, Hashtnagar, Skārah Ḍherī and Mathurā (LÜDERS' *List* N° 78) of the respective years 318, 359, 384, 399 and 299 on the ground of the high numbers in their dates use the same era as the inscription of Chārsadda.

KONOW continues: "With regard to the era used in the Chārsadda and Mathurā inscriptions discussed above, I think that we may safely assume an epoch coinciding with the creation of the Parthian empire in B.C. 249-8. I also think that we have traces of another Parthian era beginning about 90 B.C. Then follow the well-known Vikrama, Śaka, and Kaniṣka eras. The still later reckonings do not interest us in the present connection." [71])

Therefore the theory about the old Śaka era of 83 or 150 is laid aside by KONOW and in its place two Parthian eras enter, the older one of 249-248 B.C. and the later one of 90 B.C., which last

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68) S. KONOW, *Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Saṁvat 299. K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume,* Poona 1934, pp. 262-268.

69) N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions on two Relic-caskets from Charsadda.* 1. *Inscription of the Year 303 on Relic-Casket I, Epigraphia Indica,* vol. 24, Delhi 1937, pp. 8-10; henceforth abbreviated as *Ep. Ind.*

70) S. KONOW, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303, Acta Or.,* vol. XX, 1948, pp. 107-119.

71) Ibidem, p. 115.

is evidently thought out "pour besoin de la cause" as KONOW is at a loss regarding the era of the Taxila copper plate of Patika.

Moreover it is not clear whether KONOW thinks this old Parthian era commenced in the year 245 B.C., 249 B.C. or 259 B.C. On p. 115 of his article he assumes 249 B.C. as the starting-point. On p. 116 in line 16 he also mentions the year 249 B.C., but his following calculations are all based on a starting-point of the era in the year 259 B.C., which he actually mentions in line 27 [72]). In a recent article KONOW gives 245 B.C. as starting-point [73]).

Finally in a discussion on February 3rd 1947 Professor KONOW informed us personally that he now fixed the beginning of the Kaniṣka era about the year 138 A.D.; after putting before him the question of the inscription of Vasulā [74]) he propounded moreover the existence of a seventh era which began in the 1st century A.D.

Recently an article of KONOW appeared in which he arrived again at another date for Kaniṣka, viz. ± 200 A.D. [75]).

The way in which KONOW was continually forced to alter his opinion, as every now and then points arose which did not square with his ideas, is indeed the clearest proof that we are not on the right track when proposing such a late date for Kaniṣka. Further, Kaniṣka would then, according to KONOW, be the successor of Vāsudeva. That this is quite impossible appears from all available information, stylistical, historical as well as epigraphical.

In this way there were, according to KONOW, seven eras used in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., to wit, the old and the new Parthian eras, the Vikrama era, the Azes era, an era beginning about 50 A.D., the Śaka era, and the Kaniṣka era.

It is clear to everyone how matters become exceptionally com-

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72) Moreover according to KONOW's reasoning the date of the inscription of Khalatse ought to have been 72 B.C. on page 116, and the Taxila silver scroll 79 A.D. In the then following lines he assumes that these inscriptions were issued by resp Wima and Kujūla Kadphises, which of course is quite impossible. The idea that father and son were separated by 151 years is inconceivable.

73) S. KONOW, *Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions, India Antiqua*. Leyden 1947, pp. 193-197, esp. p. 197.

74) See regarding this question Ch. IV, pp. 241-244.

75) S. KONOW, *Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions, India Antiqua*, p. 195.

plicated by those seven eras, of which several were used simultaneously, and moreover the element of arbitrariness increases when one must decide to which of these seven eras a certain inscription must belong.

Of the seven chronological systems which KONOW accepts, we will now first determine which of these can be considered as likely to have been used in the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions.

We will cross out the era which begins about 50 A.D., as that one was adopted by KONOW "pour besoin de la cause" when we confronted him with the problem of the inscription of Vasulā. We will do the same with the later Parthian era proposed by KONOW for the Taxila copper plate, which otherwise he found inexplicable. It does not seem justified to assume an otherwise unknown era for one inscription [76]). In the *Corpus* KONOW rightly ascribed the Taxila inscription to the old Śaka era, and THOMAS in his review of the *Corpus* underlined this idea saying: "What we have is a number of unofficial documents ...... employing what from the run of the numbers must be a single era ...... In this respect even the Taxilā inscription of Patika is nowise exceptional." [77]) In our opinion it is better to look for a solution in the inscription itself than to invent a new era and add a seventh to those already assumed. We therefore propose in accordance with FLEET, THOMAS and JAYASWAL not to identify the Patika of the Taxila inscription with the person mentioned on the Lion Capital, the more so as we are not sure as to what was the exact name of the last person. JAYASWAL proposes Patika Mevaki, the second name being perhaps mentioned in an inscription at Mathurā as born by a mahākṣatrapa [78]).

As to the Azes era of the year 7-6 B.C. we would repeat the objections we made against inventing an era "pour besoin de la

76) The same pertains to GHIRSHMAN's Maues c.a. R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. 105.

77) F. W. THOMAS, *Review of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II*, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Jrg. 193, Berlin 1931, pp. 1-15, esp. p. 10.

78) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History*, *JBORS.*, vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316, esp. pp. 245-248.

cause". The three mentioned eras are quite hypothetical and only concern one inscription.

The Vikrama era seems to us "a priori" a very risky hypothesis since we would be obliged to accept the fact that the Śakas used an era which was instituted by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who defeated them [79]). THOMAS says about this hypothesis of KONOW: "To refer to this era the figure 103 in the Gudaphara inscription, which comes from the vicinity of Takht-i-Bāhī, should be a last resort." [80]) In our opinion it is even more impossible to refer the inscription of Śoḍāsa to the Vikrama era. Śoḍāsa is, judging by his coins and inscriptions, clearly one of the early pre-Kuṣāṇa kṣatrapas who date all their inscriptions in the old era [81]). KONOW himself said about the Vikrama era: „Es scheint mir auch nicht möglich, anzunehmen, dass diese Zeitrechnung, die für die Inder so eng mit der Vorstellung von einer Besiegung der Śakas verknüpft war, im nordwestlichen Indien unter gerade diesen Śakas aufgekommen sein sollte." [82]) Earlier already KIELHORN had pointed out that the use of the Vikrama era was limited before the year 1300 A.D. to an area marked by the imaginary boundary-line running along the Narbadā via Gayā and Delhi to the Runn of Cutch and back along the coastline [83]). Finally again THOMAS: „...... we cannot without violating every probability admit the Vikrama era." [84])

Except for the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas we do not, thus far, know of any inscriptions with low numbers in their dates pertaining to the Śaka era of 78 A.D.

So there remains the ancient Parthian era of 249/8 B.C. or

79) See Ch. VII, p. 332 and K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316.

80) F. W. THOMAS, *Review of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Jrg. 193, 1931, p. 10.

81) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History. J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316, esp. p. 245.

82) S. KONOW, *Indoskytische Beiträge, S.B.A.W.*, 1916, Band II, p. 813.

83) F. KIELHORN, *Examination of Questions connected with the Vikrama Era, Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20, 1891, pp. 124-142 and 397-414, esp. p. 404.

84) F. W. THOMAS, *Review of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Jrg. 193, 1931, p. 14.

259/8 B.C.—in KONOW's earlier hypotheses the old Śaka eras of 150 and 84 B.C.—which he assumed à propos of the series of inscriptions with the high numbers 303-399 in their dates. Concerning the possiblity of a Parthian era we first want to quote the earlier words of KONOW, with which we fully agree: "With regard to the Parthian era, it should be borne in mind that the Saka empire in India was the result of a weakening of the Parthian empire ... and it is hardly likely that the latter (viz. the Śakas) should go on using the Parthian era after that event. Moreover, the Parthian rulers themselves generally use the Seleucidan era on their coins, the Parthian era occurring only rarely and sporadically before 38 B.C., and with regularity only from A.D. 41." [85])

In our opinion the last argument most obviously refutes the possibility that the Śakas could have this era in general use already in 201 B.C. [86]) as KONOW thinks, for the Parthians themselves used this era only regularly after the beginning of our Christian era [87]).

When searching for the era used in this series of inscriptions scholars continually started out on the principle that there were two or even more eras; one for the series of the Kaniṣka dynasty, and one for the set of inscriptions from 303-399 and perhaps sometimes one or more for several older Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. When defining the relation of Kaniṣka's era to that of the series from 303-399 there are three possibilities: 1—The inscriptions of the years 303-399 overlap wholly or partly the century during which the inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors lasted; 2—The series of 303-399 comes after Kaniṣka; 3—This series is before Kaniṣka's time.

The first possibility has been generally ignored as the arguments for the overlapping of eras are rightly judged to be weak. CODRINGTON for instance says: "The use of two eras at the

85) *Corpus*, p. LXXXIV.

86) 201, as the Parthian era begins in 249 or 259 B.C. according to KONOW, and the oldest inscription which the Śakas left is dated in the year 58.

87) TARN, pp. 494-502, also comes to the conclusion that a Parthian era is impossible; he thinks that it must be a Śaka era.

same time in the same place ...... is unlikely." [88]) KONOW, though, as we saw, did not object to such overlapping.

Choosing between the two remaining possibilities, most authors who occupied themselves with the era of the set of inscriptions with high numbers in their dates, began to state that amongst those pieces there are several sculptures which on account of their extraordinary beauty testify that they date from the flourishing period of North-West Indian art. There can be no objection to this statement, although according to us, aesthetical arguments must preferably not be used unless they are based on solid proofs or facts.

Proceeding from the supposition that the art of Gandhāra reached its highest point under Kaniṣka, or, as VOGEL and others have it, even began to degenerate before his reign [89]), judging by the reliquary of S̱hāh-jī-kī Ḍherī, one cannot put the sculptures with high numbers in their dates after the dynasty of Kaniṣka, that is to say, 100 years after the monarch during whose reign degeneration began. Consequently it was concluded that the series of inscriptions from 303-399 should date from before the beginning of Kaniṣka's accession.

In continuation, sundry eras were accepted which had their beginning in such far off times, that then the years 387 and 399 (the image bearing this last date seemed indeed to show signs of degeneration as Kaniṣka's reliquary was also supposed to do) would come before the date of Kaniṣka's accession to the throne, and that was often the reason for accepting all those ancient eras: the Maurya, Seleucidian, old Śaka, and old Parthian ones. Commenting upon one of these hypotheses FLEET once said: "In this suggestion we have simply another instance of an almost incomprehensible desire to be always discovering some new reckoning, and that, if possible, a foreign one ......" [90])

88) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *Ancient India from the earliest times to the Guptas with notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediaeval Period*, with a prefatory Essay on Indian Sculpture by WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN, London 1926, p. 38; henceforth abbreviated as *Ancient India*.

89) For more details see Ch. II, p. 99.

90) J. F. FLEET, *Review of* E. J. RAPSON'S: *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the first Century A.D.*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 795-799, esp. p. 798.

It appears to us that it is better to look at the matter objectively, and not to join in gratuitous conjectures. Judging by the excavations in Taxila by Sir JOHN MARSHALL we may set aside our fear in dating those highly skilful sculptured works in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. Sir JOHN has indeed shown very distinctly that in North-West India plastic skill was preserved even until the 5th century A.D.

It seems wholly unjustified to search for a date for the dated pieces of North-West Indian art, à propos of style-comparison with the reliquary of Bīmarān, as BACHHOFER attempted to do, since carefully considered, nothing can be said with certainty about the date of the casket. We also deny that the reliquary of Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī can be labelled as a distinct proof of the decay of art under Kaniṣka. Such aesthetical observations are often very dangerous and what some might characterise as approaching decay, others would describe as primitiveness [91]).

Finally, the last, and as it appears to us, at the same time decisive proof that the inscriptions from 303-399 must be placed after the dynasty of Kaniṣka is the following: In the whole list of discoveries from Sirkap published by Sir JOHN MARSHALL there is not one Buddha image to be found, not even a head that might have belonged to a Buddha. Now, as we will see in Chapter VII, this town was probably destroyed after Kujūla Kadphises, after which Sirsukh was built. Considering the absence of Buddha images in Sirkap, which was certainly still inhabited by Kujūla Kadphises, an almost immediate predecessor of Kaniṣka, there is not a single reason to assume that the images in the series 303-399 were made before Kaniṣka or to ascribe the flourishing period, or even the decay of the art of Gandhāra, to the reign of Kaniṣka, so we are compelled to put the inscriptions with high numbers in their dates after the Kaniṣka dynasty [92]). In anticipation to that

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91) For more details about the question dealt with in the following two pages, see Ch. II, pp. 89 seq.

92) For further proofs, that the art of Gandhāra only flourished after Kaniṣka, see Chapter II.

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92) For further proofs, that the art of Gandhāra only flourished after Kaniṣka, see Chapter II.

which we will discuss in Chapter II we add that the dated North-West Indian sculptures will, on stylistic grounds, appear to belong to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. So we see that history and art form complementary arguments in this case.

As far as we know, the era of Kaniṣka was not longer in use in North-West India than the year 98, and it is therefore probable that the series of inscriptions from 303-399 began soon after the death of Vāsudeva, possibly even in the last few years of his reign.

Agreeing with the remark of KONOW that the inscription of Mathurā (LÜDERS' *List* N° 78) used the same era as the pieces from Loriyān Tāṅgai, Skārah Ḍherī, Jamālgaṛhī, Hashtnagar and Chārsadda, and anticipating our proof that the inscription of Mathurā (LÜDERS' *List* N° 78) used the same era as all the other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of earlier years [93]), we now state that the only thing we can do is to accept the fact that the group of inscriptions with high numbers in their dates uses the same era as the earlier Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

The reason why this simple conclusion viz. that the era of all inscriptions from North-West India, excepting those pieces which are dated in the Kaniṣka era, is one and the same, was never accepted, is due to fear of the immediately resultant conclusion that the very famous North-West Indian images of Loriyān Tāṅgai, Jamālgaṛhī and Hashtnagar would in that case be much later than the 1st century B.C. or, even the 1st century A.D. In order to avoid this unpleasant conclusion all sorts of separate eras for these pieces were accepted, among others the Parthian era of KONOW, with chaotic results.

It appears to us that, in any case, we must accept a separate era of their own for the inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, issued by Kaniṣka and his successors, and another one for all the other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions to which the Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā of the years 72 and 299 also belong, as will appear further on.

KONOW had continually in his mind this scheme of two eras

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93) See pp. 51-61.

as a guiding thought, but he kept on adding other eras which he accepted for special inscriptions as these presented chronological difficulties. This seems to us "mettre les bœufs derrière la charrue". It is highly improbable that in a long line of inscriptions, all referring to one and the same era, suddenly an exception would have been made and an entirely new era adopted or used for one single inscription. It appears to us then that it is more correct to reverse the matter, and, in case a difficulty might occur, to seek the solution in the inscription itself, and not in the assumption again and again of a hypothetical new era. Moreover this last implies that several periods would have existed in which two or even more eras would have been in use at the same time, and apparently in an entirely arbitrary manner, sometimes the one era being used for an inscription, and sometimes the other. This is most improbable. One can well imagine that in the first time after the introduction of a new chronological system the old era still continued to be used side by side with the new one, but one cannot admit that this would go on for a whole century.

Let us now examine the possibilities concerning the starting-point of the old era. The sought-after era was used by the Yüeh-chih and Śakas and, consequently, an event important to those people must have been its starting-point.

The earliest date in the era of the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that we know of is 58 in the inscription at Maira, and from that year onwards a fairly uninterrupted stream of documents dated in this era reaches us. The presumption is therefore evident that not long before the year 58 of the era in question the Scythians invaded India, for else the total lack of dates before that year is unexplainable. Consequently the important event which caused the institution of a new era, must have taken place outside India.

During the short period in which KONOW assumed the year 150 B.C. as the starting-point of the old Śaka era, he presumed that the motive for the institution of the era was the combat with the Parthians: "Strabo distinctly tells us that the Parthians brought force to bear on the Skythians, and if the Saka era was founded

about 150 B.C., that must have happened during these fights with the Parthians." [94]) We will return to this quotation of STRABO later on. It is rather improbable that the Scythians should begin an era of their own in a period when they were threatened continually by the Parthians. It would be much more probable if the starting-point was a victory of theirs over the Parthians. Now the following communication can be read in the *Hou han shu*, written by FAN YEH after the narrative of PAN YUNG at the end of the reign of the Emperor An (107-125) for what in the period Chien-wu (25-55) and later was different from what had already been told formerly in older sources such as the *Ch'ien han shu*. "The Ta-yüeh-chih kingdom has as its capital the city of Lan-shih. On the West it borders on An-hsi, which lies at a distance of 49 days march, on the East the distance is 6537 li from the residence of Chang-shih, and 16370 li from Lo-yang; it counts 100.000 homes, 400.000 individuals, more than 100.000 picked soldiers.

"Originally, when the Yüeh-chih were vanquished by the Hsiung-nu, they migrated to Ta-hsia and divided this kingdom among five district-heads (hsi-hou), which were those at Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hsi-tun, Tu-mi. More than a hundred years afterwards the hsi-hou of Kuei-shuang, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io, attacked and vanquished the other four hsi-hou and made himself king. His kingdom was called Kuei-shuang.

"He invaded An-hsi and seized the territory of Kao-fu; further he triumphed over P'u-ta and Chi-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. In his turn he conquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yüeh-chih became extremely powerful. All the countries designate them calling (their king) the Kuei-shuang King, but the Han call them Ta-yüeh-chih, preserving their old appellation." [95])

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94) S. KONOW, *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 959.

95) *Hou han shu*, Ch. 118. E. CHAVANNES, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le*

For a long time it has already been accepted that the two here mentioned Kuei-shuang monarchs Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io and Yen-kao-chen were Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises [96]). Now we possess an inscription found at Takht-i-Bāhī in which presumably Kujūla Kadphises is mentioned. A chapel was built here in the year 103 by Balasami (Balasvāmin?) together with his son and daughter in honour of Mira the Saviour, and of Prince Kapa, the word for prince being *erjhuna* in the original, an old Saka word of which the Sanskrit equivalent is *kumāra*. KONOW has demonstrated [97]) that the young Kuṣāṇa prince must be undoubtedly Kujūla Kadphises, and, as it seems to us, judging by the wording of the inscription, just after his first public appearance. As archaeological discoveries show, he reigned after Gondophernes [98]), who is also mentioned in the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī. RAPSON had doubts about this reading of KONOW's [99]), but even if he were right, then there are still the following facts which point out that the beginning of the reign of Kujūla Kadphises was about the year 100 of the old era.

The *Hou han shu* says namely: "Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. In his turn he conquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration" etc. Judging by this communication and the coins, Wima Kadphises must have reigned for some time. Further, after his reign there is yet the name mentioned on coins and in an inscription of a highly placed person, presumably a relation, Jihoṇika, alias Zeionises, who struck coins as mahākṣatrapa and might have governed the kingdom after the death of

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Heou Han chou, T'oung Pao, série II, tome VIII, Leiden 1907, pp. 149-234, esp. pp. 187-192.

96) Already supposed by A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Kushāns, or Great Yue-ti, Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. XII, London 1892, pp. 40-82 esp. p. 41.

97) *Corpus*, pp. 57-62.

98) We will use the name Gondophernes for this king, as this form of his name has become usual for him; other forms met with are Guduphara, Gudaphara, Undopherres, Hyndopherres, Gundopharr, etc., etc.

99) E. J. RAPSON, *Review of the Corpus* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, pp. 186-202, esp. pp. 188-190.

Wima Kadphises, although perhaps, only a part of it [100]). The reign of the octogenarian Kujūla Kadphises, together with that of his son Wima, and perhaps a short reign of Jihoṇika, must altogether have lasted about 100 years. This is confirmed by the Purāṇas. These give a different number of Yüeh-chih monarchs and a different number for the total of the years of their reigns. Putting all together these data appear to be based on two versions:

1—13 or 14 monarchs reigning for 104½ or 199 years;

2—10 or 11 monarchs reigning for 103 or 199 years [101]).

It is clear that these versions represent two different traditions. The discrepancy between 94½ à 96 years must of course be sought for in the discrepancy between the number of monarchs, which was probably 3 (13-10 or 14-11). These three monarchs, who in the Indian chronological lists were as often as not included in the total number of Tukhāra monarchs, are undoubtedly the Kadphises kings, of whom the Purāṇas in this way confirm moreover the fact for us that they were indeed three in number.

This last fact is proved again by two western sources to which JAYASWAL [102]) drew attention. MUJMAL-UT TAWĀRĪKH who, relating Indian history on the base of Indian sources, tells us that King Kafand (= Kujūla Kadphises) had a son Ayand (Wima Kadphises), whose son Rāsal was driven out by some Indian king [103]). However vague and dim, we still have the number three here. Clearer is the story in the Introduction of FERISHTA's history in which King Kishan (Kuṣāṇa) is said to have had a son King Mahārāj, who was again succeeded by his *nephew* Kaid Rāj [104]). Especially this last source is in our opinion trustworthy as it has retained the family-relation between the two last Kings as uncle

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100) For Jihoṇika see further Chapter VII, pp. 377 seq.

101) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316, esp. p. 310.

102) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 7-16.

103) H. M. ELLIOT, *The History of India as told by its own Historians,* London 1867-1877, vol. I, pp. 106-110.

104) Ibidem, vol. VI, London 1875, pp. 547-548 and 555-556.

and nephew, which is confirmed by the Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the year 191.

But to return to our subject, we have seen that the duration of the combined reigns of the Kadphises kings and Jihoṇika would be somewhat less than 100 years. Now, as we shall see further on [105]), Kaniṣka ascends the throne some years after the year 200 of the old era (when we state this, it does not matter which year of the Christian era this year 200 of the old era equals). Consequently King Kujūla Kadphises must have begun his reign about the year 200 of the old era, minus about a hundred years = about the year 100 of the old era. We see therefore that this calculation agrees with the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī and with the Chinese information.

Still another argument is the inscription from Khalatse of the year 187. THOMAS [106]) and RAPSON [107]) have uttered their doubts about the reading of the royal name, which KONOW gives as "Uvimakavthisa". In one of his last articles in *Acta Orientalia* [108]), in our opinion, KONOW has taken away this doubt, so without further discussion we can accept his reading and assume that here Wima Kadphises is mentioned. The date 187 would suit excellently as a year of the reign of Wima, if we assume that his octogenarian father ascended the throne as a young prince about the year 100. We can then also assume that Wima Kadphises, in the normal way of things, could not have reigned for very long after 187.

There are thus different arguments to bring forward for the opinion that Kujūla Kadphises began to reign about the year 100 of the era in use at that time.

Next to this is the important communication in which the *Hou han shu* tells us that Kujūla Kadphises gained power over the other four hsi-hou and began a great career, little more than *100 years*

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105) See pp. 62-63.

106) F. W. THOMAS, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, review in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Jrg. 193, 1931, pp. 1-15, esp. p. 4.

107) E. J. RAPSON, *Review of the Corpus* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1930, p. 191.

108) S. KONOW, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303*, *Acta Or.*, vol. XX, pp. 107-119, esp. pp. 117-119.

after the Yüeh-chih conquered Ta-hsia. Some scholars thought that the dividing of Ta-hsia into five hsi-hou took place long after the Ta-yüeh-chih conquered that country and that the mentioned 100 years ought to be counted as beginning from the dividing of Ta-hsia into five hsi-hou, not from the conquest of Ta-hsia [109]). However, that interpretation of the context seems far-fetched. The *Hou han shu* goes back to the *Ch'ien han shu*, and if we look up the passage in the *Ch'ien han shu* not one reason appears for assuming that the Ta-yüeh-chih waited with dividing the country into five hsi-hou. On the contrary it is only natural to suppose that they did this immediately after they brought the country under their control. The passage was interpreted in the same way by LÉVI, HARI CHARAN GHOSH and JAYASWAL [110]) and later on again by HALOUN [111]), who consequently places Kujūla Kadphises in about 20 B.C., a date to which we would be able to agree. The remarkable thing is that JAYASWAL also arrives at this date along another line of arguments which differ from ours but fit in with them perfectly. As appears from the emphatic recording of this conquest of Bactria this fact was, even in the eyes of the Chinese, a very important event.

Combining these two data, we are forced to draw the conclusion that the starting-point of the era, used by the Yüeh-chih, must have been their conquest of Bactria (or some important event that took place in the year just before or after that conquest). It is not admissible that the Chinese would have invented this period of 100 years, even if it had been perhaps a few years more or

109) For instance E. SPECHT, *Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque du règne de Kanichka, J.A.*, 9e série, tome X, 1897, pp. 152-193, esp. pp. 158 and 162; V. SMITH, *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History, B.C. 165-A.D 320, J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 23 and 28.

110) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, II, *Les textes historiques, J.A.*, 9e série, tome IX, 1897, p. 7; HARI CHARAN GHOSH, *The Date of Kaniṣka, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. V, Calcutta 1929, pp. 49-80, esp. p. 60; henceforth abbreviated as *I.H.Q.*: K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316, esp. p. 243.

111) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tṣï Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, 1937, pp. 243-318, esp. p. 259.

less. Possibly we might even see in this Chinese communication the echo of a tradition, which could easily be remembered by the Scythians, because they counted from the time of this conquest, and it is indeed remarkable that about 100 years after this fact a second period of prosperity began for this people.

When did this conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih, among whom were also Śakas, take place? Again it is the accurate Chinese sources which help us here. It is true they do not give the year of the conquest of Bactria, but from their description of the people of the West we are able to reconstruct some facts. For this, we must recapitulate the history of this nomad people from the Chinese sources as far as possible.

The Yüeh-chih lived originally in the south-west part of the Gobi (the S.W. of Kan-su, between Tun-huang, and Ch'i-lien-shan) [112]. In the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Mao-tun (± 209-± 174), a powerful monarch of the Huns, greatly extended his kingdom at the cost of the neighbouring peoples, and so also the people of the Yüeh-chih were subjugated by him in 177-176. Under his successor Lao-shang (about 174-160) it came to a bloody conflict between the Huns and the Yüeh-chih, and the ruler of these last was slain.

Ssŭ-MA CH'IEN in his *Shih chi,* speaking about the Yüeh-chih, says: "They are nomadic, they go hither and thither after their herds, they have the same customs as the Hsiung-nu. Their archers number about 10 or 20 myriads. They were originally strong and made light of the Hsiung-nu. When Mao-tun became ruler he attacked and defeated the Yüeh-chih. It went so far that the shan-yü Lao-shang of the Hsiung-nu killed the king of the Yüeh-chih and made a drinking vessel of his skull." [113]

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112) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 B. translated by A. WYLIE, *Notes on the Western Regions. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.* vol. XI, London 1882, p. 84, henceforth abbreviated as *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.*

113) Ssŭ-MA CH'IEN, *Shih chi,* Ch. 123. J. MARQUART, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i.* Berlin 1901, *Abh. Kön. Ges. Wiss. zu Göttingen.* Phil.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Band III, N° 2, p. 201; F. W. K MÜLLER, *Toχri und Kuišan (Küšan). S.B.A.W.* 1918, Band I, pp. 566-586, esp. p. 571

This forced the Yüeh-chih to leave their original fatherland. A small group separated and went to the mountains of North-East Tibet, the Richthofen range, and remained known in later Chinese communications as the Little Yüeh-chih [114]). The greater mass, from now on known to the Chinese as Ta-yüeh-chih = the Great Yüeh-chih, marched to the West, and defeated the people of the Sai, in North T'ien-shan, on the upper Ili, Chu and Naryn. This Sai is the general name for an Iranian (Scythian) people, known as Sakas in Persian and Śakas in Indian sources. Several tribes of the Sai, sometimes also called Sai-wang [115]), were driven to the South [116]), others were assimilated, according to the *Ch'ien han shu* [117]), with the Ta-yüeh-chih.

But the Ta-yüeh-chih did not enjoy a peaceful life for long, for another race, the Wu-sun, fell upon the Ta-yüeh-chih in turn, and again drove a part of them forward, while another part was subjugated by the Wu-sun together with the assimilated Sai. The *Ch'ien han shu* describes in detail how the Wu-sun and the Ta-yüeh-chih formerly made war upon each other, whereby the ruler of the Wu-sun perished. His new-born son was taken by his guardian to the Hsiung-nu, the king of which brought up the child with much care. Growing up the boy distinguished himself by military successes. On reaching manhood the former subjects of his father were placed under his command. The K'un-mo (title of

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114) PAN KU in *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 A; J. MARQUART, *Erānšahr,* p. 202. *Ch'ien han shu* Ch. 61.

115) In our opinion this wang (= Chinese for: king) does not denote a separate people. A parallel can be found in the way in which the *Hou han shu* Ch. 118, tells us that the Ta-yüeh-chih were designated as the Kuei-shuang kings: "All the countries designate them, calling (their king) the Kuei-shuang King (wang), but the Han call them Ta-yüeh-chih preserving their old appellation", E. CHAVANNES, *T'oung Pao.* série II, tome VIII, Leiden 1907, pp. 187-192, esp. p. 192. Possibly this "wang" corresponds with the element (Saka-r)auloi or (Saka-r)auk(c)ai in classical sources.

116) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 A; This passage is quoted on p. 31.

117) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 61. *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.,* vol. X, London 1881, p. 69. See also O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abhandl. der Kön. Preussischen Akad. der Wissensch.,* Berlin 1904, Phil.-hist. Abhandl. I, pp. 15-16.

the Wu-sun kings) now asked permission to avenge his father, and having obtained that he moved westward and "attacked and defeated the Ta-yüeh-chih, who in their turn migrated to the West, and settled in the country of Ta-hsia. The K'un-mo took the mass of the people under his control and remained in the country, where he gradually raised a powerful army." [118])

Those of the Ta-yüeh-chih, who marched again further westwards came at last in the neighbourhood of Ta-hsia, i.e. Bactria [119]) "and made themselves master of it, but the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Chi-pin." [120]) The Chinese ambassador Ch'ang Ch'ien, who was sent out by the Chinese to form an alliance between China and the Yüeh-chih, arrived presumably in 129 B.C. when they were masters of Bactria.

PAN KU relates about the wanderings of the Yüeh-chih in the *Ch'ien han shu*: "Originally they lived between Tun-huang and C'i-lien, but when the Shan-yü Mao-tun had defeated them and the Shan-yü Lao-shang had killed the Yüeh-chih king and made a drinking vessel from his skull, the Yüeh-chi moved far away beyond Ta-yüan. In the West they defeated the Ta-hsia and made them their subjects. Then they made their head-quarters north of the Wei-river." [121])

As appears from the Chinese sources, there are two stages to be distinguished in this trek of the Yüeh-chih: 1—The expedition from their original dwelling-place from which they were driven out by the Huns to North T'ien-shan; 2—The march from North T'ien-shan to Bactria after the attack by the Wu-sun.

Three Japanese scholars have occupied themselves with the question in which period this migration of the Yüeh-chih could

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118) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 61; translated by A. WYLIE, loc. cit., vol. X, p. 69. This passage is also to be found in the *Wên hsien t'ung k'ao* of MA TUAN-LIN, translated by A. RÉMUSAT. Apparently this passage has been taken over from the *Ch'ien han shu.* See A. RÉMUSAT, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques ou Recueil de Morceaux Critiques et de Mémoires,* Paris 1829, tome I, p. 205.

119) MARQUART thought the Ta-hsia were the Tochari, J. MARQUART, *Erānšahr,* p. 204.

120) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 A; see also A. WYLIE, loc. cit., vol. X, p. 34.

121) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 A; see also A. WYLIE, loc. cit., vol. X, p. 41

have taken place [122]). Finally, these sources have been considered again by HALOUN [123]) and he comes to the conclusion that the opinion of KUWABARA and YASUMA is right, to which he adds some arguments of his own. The first period of the march of the Yüeh-chih, namely, from Kan-su to the upper Ili, would therefore have taken place in the years 172-161, the second stage, from the upper Ili to the Āmū-Daryā territory, between 133-129 B.C.

From 129-128 Ch'ang Ch'ien remained with the Yüeh-chih [124]) whom he describes as the masters of Bactria, so presumably the conquest of that country must have taken place before his departure in 128. The opinion of FUJITA TOYOHASHI that this conquest of Bactria would have taken place already in 160 B.C., with which KONOW also agrees [125]), depends upon the wrong interpretation of a passage, in which is narrated that the attack of the Wu-sun on the Yüeh-chih just happened when the Shan-yü Lao-shang died, i.e. 160 B.C. The passage rightly runs: "just when the Shan-yü died", which according to HALOUN [126]) can not refer to the Shan-yü Lao-shang.

Moreover, when we consider the passage mentioned about the vengeful attack of the Wu-sun on the Ta-yüeh-chih, it appears that between the war of the Ta-yüeh-chih with the Wu-sun, which occurred from 172-167, and the revenge of the Wu-sun on the Ta-yüeh-chih, the new-born crown prince of the Wu-sun had reached manhood, so that at least 20 years must have passed. This then

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122) KUWABARA JITSUZŌ, *Chō Ken no ensei, Tōzai-kōtsūshi-ronsō* (Collection of treatises on intercourse between East and West), 1933. FUJITA TOYOHASHI, *Gesshi no kochi to sono seii no nendai* (The native land of the Yüeh-chih and the date of their western migration), *Tōyō-gakuhō*, vol. VI, Oct. 1916. YASUMA YAICHIRŌ, *Gesshi no seihō-idō ni tsuite* (On the migration of the Yüeh-chih to the West), *Shigaku-zasshi*, vol. XLIII, May 1932, pp. 657-669.

123) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tsï Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, pp. 247 seq.

124) E. J. RAPSON, in *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 566 gives the year 126. HALOUN, loc. cit., p. 249, however, 129/8. In note 5 on that page he leaves the possibility open that the presence of Ch'ang Ch'ien was a year later.

125) S. KONOW, *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 958 and *Corpus* pp. LIII and LIV.

126) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tsï Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, p. 248.

makes it impossible that the revenge could have taken place already in 160 B.C.

This and other arguments, e.g. those of HALOUN, KUWABARA JITSUZŌ and YASUMA YAICHIRŌ seem, to us, to be proof enough that the Chinese sources indeed point to a conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih in about 129 B.C. Moreover we shall see later on that the western sources also record the conquest in that year, so that we can fix the commencement of the old era in about 129 B.C.

There will, of course, always be scholars who will endeavour to withdraw themselves from the power of these arguments, by saying e.g. that to the communication in the *Hou han shu* about the beginning of the reign of Kujūla Kadphises no credence need be attached. But even if one could escape from the conclusion that the old era began in 129 B.C. there still would remain the different enumerated reasons to assume that Kujūla Kadphises started on his career somewhere about the year 100 of the old era. More reasons will be given in Chapter VII. Moreover it is impossible to evade the conclusion that the conquest of Bactria was a very important event in the history of the Scythians, witness also the recording of it in the different Chinese sources which limit themselves to the very most important points in the course of the history of the Western Regions. Further, as far as can be seen, there is not one single fact either before or after this conquest that could give a reason or an occasion to institute a new era. Before 129 B.C. these people were still wandering nomads [127]), and after 129 the fortune of war is reversed, and during nearly the whole reign of Mithradates II (124-88 B.C.) one sees that the Scythians are continually driven back by the Parthians. Truly not a suitable time to institute a private era which points to independence, or even to a memorable victory or the establishment of a kingdom.

To push the beginning of the era yet still nearer to the beginning of our chronological system, thus after Mithradates II, about 84 B.C., as KONOW proposed, is impossible in connection with the fact that in that case the first inscription of the people

127) For further arguments against an era before 129 B.C. see pp. 47 seq. below.

who invaded North-West India should have to be dated at earliest only after the year 25 B.C. Maues would consequently reign about the beginning of our era. This is quite impossible as his coins show a much better style and script than those of Hermaeus, Zoilus and Niceas [128]). Moreover the last Greek kings who ruled in India certainly reigned 30 years or more after Maues. So we conclude that the era must undoubtedly have begun before Mithradates II ascended the throne in 124 B.C.

It is striking that this *terminus ante quem* is in the near neighbourhood of the date 129 B.C. which we have pointed out, inferring from entirely different data, as the starting-point of the old era.

When we now, on the other hand, trace the western sources about this age, we come to the discovery that they really fit in wonderfully well with the information which we have from Chinese sources. The original owners of Bactria, the Hellenistic monarchs, were, as JUSTINUS on the strength of TROGUS tells us, attacked by the Sogdians, Drangae, Indians, etc., etc., and finally definitely driven out by the Parthians: "Bactriani autem per varia bella iactati non regnum tantum, verum etiam libertatem amiserunt, siquidem Sogdianorum et Arachotorum et Drangarum et Areorum Indorumque bellis fatigati ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis velut exsangues oppressi sunt." [129])

From JUSTINUS we further know that the Parthian kingdom was greatly extended by Mithradates I (about 171-138), so much so that its boundaries reached even from the Euphrates to Hindu-Kush [130]). But now fortune turns her back on the Parthians, the successor of Mithradates I, Phraates II (138-128) was involved in war against Syria and finally called in the aid of the "Scythians", a powerful equestrian nation that could be a decisive factor in the struggle. However, when he refused to pay them, they

128) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*. London 1886, p. XL. See further: Ch. VII, pp. 337 seq.

129) JUSTINUS, XLI. 6. 3. The different editions diverge here from one another. We use that of O. SEEL, Teubner ed. Leipzig 1935.

130) Ibidem.

mutinied and murdered Phraates [131]), and having destroyed the whole of Parthia, returned to their own territories. Artabanus (128-123), the uncle of Phraates II, who in the meantime had succeeded his nephew, was just as unfortunate, for in a new war against the Scythians he also lost his life on the field of battle. JUSTINUS: "In huius locum Artabanus, patruus eius, rex substituitur. Scythae autem contenti victoria depopulata Parthia in patriam revertuntur. Sed et Artabanus bello Tochariis inlato in bracchio vulneratus statim decedit." [132])

Artabanus' son, Mithradates II (124/3-88), with cognomen "the Great", was able to re-instate and greatly enlarge the Parthian kingdom again. If we consider this information of the western authors, then it is remarkable how they tally with what the Chinese tell us, but let us first see what KONOW has to say about this period.

As has been said, his opinion is that the Yüeh-chih conquered Bactria about 160 B.C. [133]). This is rather improbable, for this event should have occurred then during the reign of the powerful Parthian monarch Mithradates I, of whom we have just heard from JUSTINUS that he had extended the boundaries of his kingdom to Hindu-Kush. This tallies with another communication of JUSTINUS which we just quoted, namely, that the *Parthians conquered* Bactria, after it had been *weakened* (not conquered) by the Scythians and others. STRABO also mentions this conquest of a part of Bactria by the Parthians: **οἱ δὲ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν Ἕλληνες καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διῃρήκασιν, ὧν τήν τε Ἀσπιώνου καὶ τὴν Τουριούαν ἀφῄρηντο Εὐκρατίδην οἱ Παρθυαῖοι.** [134])

We see, therefore, that the different authors do not contradict each other.

To prove his conception that the Scythians first possessed Bactria, and that Mithradates I afterwards took it from them, KONOW [135]) quotes another passage from STRABO, in which he says about the

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131) JUSTINUS, XLII. 1. 2.
132) JUSTINUS, XLII. 2. 1-2. 133) *Corpus*, p. XXV.
134) STRABO, 11. 11. 2; old way of quoting C. 516-517. We use the text edited by H. L. JONES, *The Geography of Strabo*, London 1928.
135) *Corpus*, p. XXIX.

Parthians: **κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀσθενὴς ἦν διαπολεμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας τὴν χώραν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ διαδεξάμενοι ἐκεῖνον, ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἴσχυσαν ἀφαιρούμενοι τὴν πλησίον ἀεὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθώσεις, ὥστε τελευτῶντες ἁπάσης τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου κύριοι κατέστησαν· ἀφείλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν ....** [136])

When this passage (as KONOW wishes) is applied to Mithradates I, one gets indeed the impression that he took Bactria from the Scythians so that it was in their possession already before 138, after they had taken it from the Hellenistic monarchs.

From the preceding it would have to be concluded that KONOW took the episode under Phraates II, the successor of Mithradates I, described by JUSTINUS, as a kind of reconquest by the Scythians of territory formerly owned by them, or as an expedition to Parthia from Bactria, which in that case had again fallen into the hands of the Yüeh-chih, and this in spite of the information of JUSTINUS and STRABO, that the Parthians had conquered it.

As we see it, these conclusions of KONOW drawn from STRABO's quotation (11.9.2; C. 515, which he brought forward as an argument) seem to be wrong, while moreover JUSTINUS (XLI. 6) and STRABO (11.11.2; C. 516-517) clearly speak about the conquest by Parthia of Hellenistic territories. It is most improbable, that the Yüeh-chih could have deprived such a personage as Mithradates I of Bactria in the year 160 B.C. even supposing they had already penetrated into the West as early as that [137]). A monarch, of whom it is confirmed by two authors, OROSIUS and JUSTINUS, that his kingdom reached to Hindu-Kush (according to OROSIUS, even to the Indus [138])) would never have tolerated the dispossession of Bactria; on the contrary, it has undoubtedly been just this monarch

136) STRABO, 11. 9. 2 or C. 515.

137) HALOUN says: "Die Annahme, dass die Üe-tṣï den Griechen bereits um 160 Sogdiana entrissen hätten, ist aufzugeben", *Zur Üe-tṣï-Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, p. 249.

138) OROSIUS, ed. C. ZANGEMEISTER, Wien 1889, book V, Chapter IV, sec. 16: "Mithridates tunc siquidem, rex Parthorum sextus ab Arsace, victo Demetrii praefecto Babylonam urbem finesque eius universos victor invasit. Omnes praeterea gentes, quae inter Hydaspen fluvium et Indum iacent, subegit."

who is the subject of the report by STRABO and TROGUS POMPEIUS, taken over by JUSTINUS, who tell us that the Hellenistic monarchs of Bactria finally, after they were exhausted by the wars against the Sogdians, Drangae, Indians and others, were driven out by the Parthians.

Moreover the defeat of Eucratides by the Parthians took place in 159 B.C. so that the forcing of the Scythians, spoken of by STRABO, could only have taken place after that date. Perhaps even the mentioning τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν pertains to the defeat of Heliocles in 141 B.C. by Mithradates I. Phraates II, the successor of Mithradates I, who called in the aid of the Scythians (the Yüeh-chih) in the fight against Syria, did this apparently as this equestrian race since a short time had been his neighbours, and, as yet, he had had no conflicting experiences with them. It would have been rather unwise of him if he had called in the help of these Scythians against Syria, when his father had just, with much trouble, driven them out of Bactria, as KONOW thinks. So it is therefore under Phraates II that for the first time the Yüeh-chih cross the boundary of the Parthian kingdom in which Bactria was included at that time. Then comes the episode of the withholding of the wages, the death of Phraates in 128 B.C., the devastation of Parthia, and the withdrawal of the Scythians to their own country, while probably they kept the country-side of Bactria in subjection by plundering expeditions, for the Chinese ambassador Ch'ang Ch'ien describes them as lords and masters of Bactria, while they had their headquarters north of the Oxus, as is emphatically stated, which is indeed on the other side of the river, on the side from whence they came, and that agrees with the report of JUSTINUS that they "in patriam revertuntur".

Artabanus has further apparently tried to retake Bactria, which since his father's time belonged to the Parthian kingdom, but with the above-mentioned result that he died in 124 B.C. from a wound in his arm, received in battle. But now fortune favours the Parthians again and under the new king Mithradates II a flourishing period begins. This king is able to ward off the danger of the Scythians, obviously for all time, by driving

them away, and perhaps partly by subjecting them, and it is to this monarch we think that the passage from STRABO (11.9.2; C. 515) must refer, which KONOW incorrectly brought forward as a proof that Mithradates I conquered Bactria and drove out the Scythians. The sentence must therefore, in our opinion, be understood in the following way: "And they (viz. the Parthians under Mithradates II) also took a part of Bactriana having forced the Scythians, and still earlier Eucratides and his followers, to yield to them (namely, under Mithradates I)."

TARN explains very distinctly [139]) how Heliocles, the last king of Bactria, in 141 is defeated by Mithradates I. According to RAPSON this took place before 135 B.C. [140]), and it is therefore impossible that the Scythians had already conquered Bactria before that time, so that the Parthians could take it away from them again under Mithradates I.

The passage from JUSTINUS: "Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos" [141]) confirms our point of view. For, though for some time discord has existed about the identity of the different Scythian races, there is now, in any case, unanimity that the Yüeh-chih are Tocharians and that the Asiani, alias Asii, are the Yüeh-chih, or at least their dominating stratum, so that from the mentioning of the Asiani by JUSTINUS it appears that Bactria was not conquered by the Scythians before the extension of the Parthian kingdom under Mithradates I, as KONOW thinks, but only afterwards, when also the Yüeh-chih had arrived in more western districts. KONOW's opinion, that the Scythians had already formerly conquered Bactria, is probably based on the passage from STRABO: **μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἄσιοι καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι [καὶ] ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι.** [142])

STRABO says here distinctly, that the Asioi etc. took Bactria

139) TARN, pp. 271-273.
140) RAPSON, *C.H.I.*. vol. I, p. 461.
141) JUSTINUS, prologue to Chapter XLI.
142) STRABO, 11. 8. 2; C. 511.

from the *Greeks*. That this could not have happened about the year 160, at least before the expansion of Mithradates I, appears again distinctly from the mentioning of the Asioi, and the passage must therefore refer to an event after the year 141 B.C. TARN [143]) and HERRMANN [144]) have, however, advanced the idea that this passage from STRABO must refer to the events of the 7th century B.C. In that case the names of the different Scythian people have just been simply taken over by him from APOLLODORUS, who undoubtedly was STRABO's source here.

TARN says: "I have said that Chang-k'ien is quite clear that the conquest of the Ta-hia (Bactria proper) was the work of the Yueh-chi. But almost every modern writer known to me attributes that conquest to "Sacas" driven southward by the Yueh-chi, who are supposed to have occupied the country until the Yueh-chi expelled or subdued them. Chang-k'ien, who was there, knows nothing about this, and no scrap of evidence for it exists; it arose originally from a misunderstanding of a simple passage in Strabo, and for many years one writer just copied it from another, till it has become an obsession; every form of "Saca"—Sacaraucae, Sai-wang, even Tochari—has been pressed into service, and the theories to which this belief has given rise have done more than anything elso to obscure the history of this time. Certainly Strabo says that the Sacas occupied Bactria; but the most cursory perusal of the context shows that throughout the whole section he is talking, not of the second century B.C., but of a time long before that—he calls it Achaemenid, but it was really the seventh century—the time of the great Saca invasion, well known from Assyrian sources, which had played its part in the fall of Nineveh and had penetrated as far as Armenia and Cappadocian Pontus." [145])

If TARN is right, that will relieve us of the task of refuting the passage in question as an argument for KONOW's opinion.

143) TARN, p. 283.

144) A. HERRMANN, s.v. *Sakai* in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2e Reihe I, Stuttgart 1914, col. 1770-1806 esp. 1788.

145) TARN, p. 283.

Supposing, however, that the passage (although for the rest indeed quite confused) in that one sentence, starting with μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι etc., should be correct and that it really was the intention to relate a conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih *over the Greeks,* and not over the Parthians, then a very plausible explanation of the passage would be possible in the following way: The course of events—the tottering kingdom of the Bactrian kings, weakened so much through the expansion-policy of Mithradates I in the West, and the attacks of the restless nomads in the East, that Parthia finally is able to conquer the greater part in 141 B.C. and quickly on top of that the invasion of the Scythians in Parthia, and thus also in a part of Bactria itself, in about 129 B.C.—could have given the impression to the western historians, who were so far from the actual theatre of events, of one and the same expedition of conquest in which, for the Greeks, the fall of Bactria (be it as a sub-division of Parthia) was the most important. Moreover it is quite possible that the philhellenic Arsacids left some sort of independent city-government to the Greek poleis in Bactria, as we know they granted these liberties also to other Greek cities in their domain. In that case the impression in the West of a conquest by the Scythians of Greek territory would also be quite explainable.

Our opinion, that the passage from STRABO (11.9.2; C. 515) refers to Mithradates II, fits in very well in another way with the historical course of affairs, as it provides us with the proof that it was the continual pressure of this Parthian monarch that induced the Yüeh-chih, with the people merged into them, finally for the third time to break up to look for a new fatherland, this time India. But with this we will deal later on. For the present it is sufficient that we have been able to confirm the conclusions of KUWABARA JITSUZŌ, YASUMA YAICHIRŌ and HALOUN by information drawn from the western sources, so that it can be considered as definite that the conquest of Bactria took place indeed in the year 129 and not much earlier.

Further, after what has been said before about the fight between the Parthians and the Yüeh-chih it is very improbable that these

last would have taken over an era from their arch-enemies, as KONOW's last idea was [146]), an era which moreover was only regularly used by the Parthians just before the beginning of our era.

TARN thought to make a distinction between an invasion of Parthia by the Śakas in 128 and a separate conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih [147]): "... the supposed Saca conquest of Greek Bactria proper is a myth." Starting from the idea that the Śakas were different people from the Yüeh-chih, he bases his opinion, as we saw above, on the supposition that the passage in STRABO (11.8.2; C.511) about the conquest of Bactria by the Śakas in reality referred to a period in the 7th century. The passage from TROGUS POMPEIUS (the prologue to chapter XLI) should neither be explained as a conquest of Bactria by the Śakas, according to TARN. But even if the passage by STRABO is confused, then in any case TARN's starting-point, the sharp distinction between Yüeh-chih and Śakas, is incorrect, i.e., originally and in essence they are indeed two different branches of the great Scythian family of nations of Central Asia, but in the long run they are partly moulded into one by subjugation and later by joint plundering expeditions, so that for western observers it is exceptionally difficult to make a distinction between them [148]).

HERODOTUS says about this: **οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας.**[149])

That HERODOTUS speaks the truth is proved by the Old Persian rock-inscriptions of Darius, in which different kinds of Scythians are mentioned as Sakas, e.g. the Sakā Haumavargā, Sakā Tigrakaudā and Sakā tyaiy tara draya [150]).

And PLINY says: "Ultra sunt Scytharum populi. Persae illos

146) S. KONOW, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303, Acta Or.*, vol. XX, 1948, p. 113.

147) TARN, p. 284 and p. 294.

148) See also L. BACHHOFER, *On Greeks and Śakas in India, Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 61, pp. 223-250; henceforth abbreviated as *J.A.O.S*

149) HERODOTUS, *Historiae,* VII. 64.

150) Darius I, Naksh-i-Rustam, a, § 3. W. HINZ, *Altpersischer Wortschatz,* Leipzig 1942, pp. 124 seq.

Sacas universos appellavere a proxima gente...." [151]) As a last argument for the vagueness of the idea about the Śakas we have the passage from STRABO (11.8.2; C. 511): in this different Śaka tribes are spoken of and we think that the text in which according to KONOW's suggestion the much disputed word καί is not omitted [152]), is again a proof of the vague idea that prevailed about the Śakas. TARN comes to the same conclusion on other grounds: "To Greeks, who were not scientific ethnologists, the matter was simple: if a horde spoke Saca it was a Saca horde. It is not so simple to-day...." [153])

This vague conception regarding what the Śakas really were is due to the very great mixing of the different nomad-races. The composition of the Wu-sun people can serve as an example. As a result of the revenge on the Yüeh-chih by the Wu-sun and the subjection of some of them, a number of the Yüeh-chih was absorbed by the Wu-sun. But still earlier a part of the Sai (id est Śakas) had been subjugated by the Yüeh-chih and assimilated with them, so that we understand how it is that in the *Ch'ien han shu* the people of the Wu-sun are thus spoken of: "In consequence of these revolutions the population was of a mixed character, containing, besides those of Wu-sun, Sai and Ta-yüe-chih elements also." [154])

Even the Chinese mention that the Śakas were dispersed and absorbed by different people. "The Sai were scattered, and at times formed several kingdoms. North-west of Shu-le all that belongs to the states Hsiu-sün and Chüan-tu, all those are old Sai-tribes." [155]) One of the tribes in which they were taken up was the Ta-yüeh-chih, and further the Wu-sun. TROGUS even mentions

151) PLINIUS, *Naturalis Historia,* VI. 50; we use the ed. by C. MAYHOFF, Teubner ed., Leipzig 1906.

152) S. KONOW, *Notes on Strabo XI.8.2., Symbolae Osloenses,* fasc. XXIV, Oslo 1945, pp. 148-150.

153) TARN, p. 288.

154) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 B, translated by A. WYLIE, *Notes on the Western Regions, J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.,* vol. XI, London 1882, p. 84.

155) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 A, translated by A. WYLIE, *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.,* vol. X, p. 34, also note 118 on p. 31.

in the prologue to chapter XLII the ruination of the Saraucae.

In western sources the Yüeh-chih bear the name of Tochari. This tallies with the fact that KUMĀRAJĪVA glosses Tu-k'ia-lo = Tukhāra as Little Yüeh-chih [156]. It seems that, although some discord formerly existed as to this equalisation, scholars now unanimously agree to it. Besides this we also find them indicated as Asii, Ἄσιοι, or Asiani. No further argument is necessary to show that the Asii remained also known outside their boundaries as Tochari—Tukhāra. Some western authors make a distinction between the Asii and the Tochari, others mention only the Tochari, but both categories of authors are right. TARN thought that the name Asii was the same as the name Ārśi [157] which SIEG had found in much later documents dating from the 7th century A.D. [158]. VAN WINDEKENS was of the same opinion and he tried to prove this idea along a linguistic path [159]. He thinks that the word *ārśi* means "white", and that it was used to indicate the rulers of the Tochari, and subsequently for the people over whom they ruled. COUVREUR, one of the last who gave his opinion on the identity of the Asii [160], thinks they were the Wu-sun. The same theory was propounded formerly by CHARPENTIER [161] and DEGUIGNES [162]. COUVREUR, however, denies the identity of *ārśi*

156) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tṣï Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, pp. 243-318, esp. p. 276.

157) W. W. TARN, *The Invaders of Bactria*, in: *Seleucid-Parthian Studies, Proceedings of the British Academy* 1930, London, pp. 105-135, esp. p. 107.

158) E. SIEG, *Ein einheimischer Name für Toχrï, S.B.A.W.*, 1918, Band I, pp. 560-565, esp. p. 564.

159) A. J. VAN WINDEKENS, *Huns Blancs et Ārçi, Essai sur les appellations du "tokharien", Le Muséon*, vol. LIV, Louvain 1941, pp. 161-186, and *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens*, Louvain 1941, pp. XV-XXVII.

160) W. COUVREUR, *Overzicht van de Tochaarse Letterkunde, Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*. N° 10, Leiden 1945-1948, pp. 561-571, esp. p. 563.

161) J. CHARPENTIER, *Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 71, 1917, pp. 347-388, esp. pp. 357 seq.

162) DEGUIGNES, *Recherches sur quelques événemens qui concernent l'histoire des Rois Grecs de la Bactriane, et particulièrement la destruction de leur Royaume par les Scythes, l'établissement de ceux-ci le long de l'Indus, et les guerres qu'ils eurent avec les Parthes, Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tome 25, 2e partie, Paris 1759, pp. 17-33, esp. p. 26.

and Asii, proposed by VAN WINDEKENS [163]. So did BAILEY who explained *ārśi* as Sanskrit *ārya* [164] and the Āsii as a people related to the Ossetes or Ās in South Russia [165]. This last identification seems very convincing. The first was opposed by SIEG [166]. In connection with all this the prologue to chapter XLII of TROGUS is very interesting: "Additae his res Scythicae. Reges Tocharorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum." HALOUN [167] proposes to correct *Asiani* into *Cusani*. This hypothesis would give a much clearer meaning to the text and it would explain why we seemingly have no Indian equivalent for the name Asiani, whereas all the other tribes which came to India are given names which are clearly an indianisation of the original names. The Yüeh-chih—Tochari became known there as Tukhāra, or Tuṣāra, and it is now clear that the Indian equivalent for the name of their kings, Asiani (Cusani), is Kuṣāṇa.

In enumerations of the different wild tribes in North-West India, apart from the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, we find the Śakas and the Tuṣāras also continually mentioned together in the epic poetry. The different texts in which these tribe-names occur probably all go back to one Purāṇic text, and the names in question did not convey much to the authors. The impression is given that the coupling of the two names Śakas and Tuṣāras [168] finds its analogy in standard couplings as Utkala-Mekala, Yavana-Pahlava, Suhma-Puṇḍra, Aṅga-Vaṅga [169], etc., all people mentioned over

163) W. COUVREUR, *Overzicht van de Tochaarse Letterkunde. Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, N° 10, p. 562.

164) H. W. BAILEY, *Ttaugara, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. VIII, London 1935-'37, pp. 883-921, esp. p. 912.

165) H. W. BAILEY, *Asica, Transactions of the Philological Society*, London 1946, pp. 1-38, esp. pp. 1-3.

166) E. SIEG, *Und dennoch „Tocharisch"*, *S.B.A.W.*, 1937, pp. 130-139.

167) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tṣï Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, p. 253, note 4.

168) *Mahābhārata*, Bombay Text Ed., II, 51, 1850; III, 51, 1991; III, 177, 12350; VI, 75, 3297; VIII, 73, 3652; VIII, 88, 4506; XII, 65, 2429. *Harivaṃśa* I, 5, 20 (311); I, 14, 20 (784); II, 57, 20; *The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda*, ed. by G. MELVILLE BOLLING, and JULIUS VON NEGELEIN, Leipzig 1909-'10, vol. I, pp. 351-378 etc.

169) Professor GONDA drew our attention to the fact that there are also combinations of folknames, as for instance Sindhus and Sauvīras, of which it is

and over again in epic poetry and the Purāṇas. Although in literature they are mentioned side by side, it seems to us that in reality there was not much difference to be made between Tuṣāras and Śakas. This had its origin primarily in the fact, that the greater part of the Śakas was assimilated in the Yüeh-chih—Tochari; secondly the last named people spoke a Saka language [170]); and thirdly it is exceedingly probable that the Indians called the people of the Yüeh-chih—Tuṣāra mostly by the name of the people with whom in North-West India they first came into contact, namely, the Śakas [171]). Already in Alexander's time Śakas lived at the North-West Indian borders, according to ARRIANUS [172]). From the Chinese record quoted [173]) we know that the probability exists that Śakas went to North-West India some time earlier than the Yüeh-chih—Tochari. We know of a like process of giving names in more periods of world-history, for instance, in other countries the general name for Dutchmen is Hollanders, as the part of the Netherlands' population that came into first contact with foreign countries were the sea-going Hollanders.

The Tochari and Śakas were already greatly intermingled before they invaded India and probably became even more unified after joining those Śakas who presumably had settled there earlier. This plus the three above mentioned arguments explain, in our opinion, why persons who according to Chinese sources are decidedly Yüeh-chih—Tochari, as Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises, were often considered Śakas by the Indians in later times. This appears from several facts, for instance, that Samudragupta calls

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presumed that the one is the name of the people and the other that of the territory in which they lived. See F. E. PARGITER, *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* translated with notes, Calcutta 1904, p. 315.

170) TARN, p. 288.

171) VINCENT SMITH is of the same opinion as we are, he says: "The ancient Indians having been accustomed to use the term Saka in a vague way to denote all foreigners from the other side of the passes, without nice distinctions of race and tribe......", *The Oxford Student's History of India,* Oxford 1908, p. 22.

172) FLAVIUS ARRIANUS, *Anabasis Alexandri*; ed. E. ILIFF ROBSON, *The Loeb Classical Library,* London 1929-'33, vol. II, p. 234.

173) *Ch'ien han shu,* Ch. 96 A, translated by A. WYLIE, *J.A.I.Gr Br.&I,* vol. X, p. 34, quoted on p. 31, see also note 118.

their successors Śaka-Murundas in his well-known inscription on the iron pillar of Allahābād, giving them at the same time the typical Kuṣāṇa titles Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi [174]). (Perhaps this muruṇḍa which means "master" in Saka can be compared with the "wang" in the name Sai-wang?) Another point which is remarkable is the fact that an image of Caṣṭana, one of the Śaka Western Kṣatrapas, has been found in the devakula or family chapel of Kaniṣka which shows that also the Kuṣāṇas themselves did not make much racial difference between themselves and the Śakas, which can be explained by the intermingling of these two Scythian peoples since two centuries. Lastly we mention the fact that the era instituted by Kaniṣka was called Śaka era.

Considering the vagueness about the idea Śaka in the West as well as in India, and the intermingling of the Yüeh-chih with the Śakas, it is very comprehensible that, when relating the conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih, western authors mention also Śakas, so that the information by TROGUS and STRABO in the passages about the Śakas need not necessarily be incorrect as TARN thinks [175]).

That the invasion of the Yüeh-chih in Bactria (which had no connection with the invasion of the Śakas in Parthia and took place somewhere on the eastern frontiers of Persia without exercising much influence over the rest of that country, as TARN wishes to suggest), was *not* an unimportant question, seems to us clear enough from the fact, that this conquest is, with emphasis, mentioned in Chinese sources, while less important movements in the far West are not recorded by them.

The fact that very quickly already the Yüeh-chih—Tochari and the Śakas were mixed up together by outsiders, and only remained distinguished from each other by the Chinese [176]), has been too

174) J. F. FLEET, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. III, Calcutta 1888, p. 8. If O. MAENCHEN-HELFEN and BACHHOFER are right that the Kuṣāṇas are Śakas these points are even simpler, *The Yüeh-chih Problem Re-examined, J.A.O.S.,* 1945, pp. 71-81, and note 48.

175) TARN, pp. 283-284.

176) See quotation on p. 24.

much lost sight of by different scholars who concerned themselves with this question. By making a sharp distinction between Śakas and Yüeh-chih, TARN has also lost his way. His reasoning is as follows: the era used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions must be a Śaka era, considering the fact, that the Jihoṇika vase is dated in a Śaka era, and because Moga, a Śaka, used this era, therefore a fact important for the Śakas must have been the starting-point of the era [177]). He seeks this important fact in the occupation of Śakastāna (Seistān) by the Śakas under Mithradates I in 155 B.C. [178]).

Now to begin with, it is not at all certain that the Jihoṇika vase is dated in a Śaka era. DIKSIT and KONOW agree that there is no *sa* to be seen [179]). Moreover, it seems to us there is no space for it; so, as long as that is uncertain we must not build up any conclusions upon it. The reading of "Śaka" on the Shahdaur inscription, which could be brought forward as an argument, is also very uncertain [180]), so, unless we moreover are able to answer the question whether Maues was indeed a Śaka or not [181]), the reasons why the starting-point of the old era must be a fact from Śaka history are not clear to us. Finally, it was among others the Yüeh-chih with Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises who used this old era, and furthermore it is the Yüeh-chih about whom the Chinese in connection with India chiefly tell us, so that they must have had a very important place in North-West India, in contradiction to the Śakas, who, according to the Ch'ien han shu [182]), were already long ago partly absorbed among the Wu-sun and partly among the Yüeh-chih.

Still one of the many arguments against the beginning of an era about 155 B.C. is the following: One can either assume that the inscription on the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa from Mathurā is dated

177) TARN, pp. 494-502, esp. p. 496.

178) TARN, p. 500.

179) S. KONOW, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303*, *Acta Or.*, vol. XX, 1948, p. 115.

180) *Corpus*, pp. 14-15.

181) For this see Ch. VII, pp. 337 seq.

182) *Ch'ien han shu*, Ch. 96 B, *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.*, vol. XI, p. 84.

in the old era, or one must fall back upon the most improbable hypothesis which is accepted on the authority of KONOW [183]) and RAPSON [184]), that the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa would have used the Vikrama era, which, according to KONOW, was instituted after a victory by the Indians over his own race. If, together with this, we see that a second inscription also from Mathurā (LÜDERS' *List* N° 78) which, judging from the script, is clearly later than the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa, is indeed dated in the old era, so that, in this case, we must assume that the Satraps first, for a short time, used the enemy Vikrama era and then afterwards again their own chronology, it is clear that we must give no heed to this opinion. The probability remains that the inscription, just as all other known inscriptions originating from the north-western barbaric races, is dated in the old era. If this did begin about the year 155 B.C. we must assume that the Scythians had had already for years a firm foot in Mathurā in 83 B.C., as the year 72 is mentioned in the Āmohinī plaque of Śoḍāsa's reign [185]). Now, on grounds of information about the Greeks in India, TARN gives about 60 B.C. as a probable date for the conquest of Mathurā by the Scythians [186]). We entirely agree with this, be it on other deliberations than TARN's, and it is therefore clear that the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa could not date from the year 83 B.C., and in consequence the era did not begin already in 155 B.C.

We are thus not at all convinced that a sharp division can be made between Yüeh-chih and Śakas, and that the invasion of the Śakas in Parthia in 129 B.C. could have been distinct from the conquest of a small part of Bactria in the East by the Yüeh-chih, as TARN thinks [187]). In our opinion it was one and the same invasion by different nomad races, frequently indicated together by western authors under the general name of Scythians. One of the many arguments for this is the following passage quoted from JUSTINUS:

183) *Corpus*, p. XXXIV.
184) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 575-576.
185) See for the version of this date, the appendix at the back of this Chapter
186) TARN, p. 325. 187) TARN, p. 294.

"In huius locum Artabanus, patruus eius, rex substituitur. Scythae autem contenti victoria depopulata Parthia in patriam revertuntur. Sed et Artabanus bello Tochariis inlato in bracchio vulneratus, statim decedit. Huic Mithridates filius succedit, cui res gestae Magni cognomen dedere ...... Sed et cum Scythis prospere aliquotiens dimicavit ultorque iniuriae parentum fuit." [188])

This has been incorrectly translated by PESSONNEAUX as: "Artaban, blessé au bras dans une guerre contre les Thogariens, mourut aussitôt." [189]) The correct translation, according to us, should have been: "But *also* Artabanus, after he had declared war on the Tochari and was wounded in the arm, died immediately." In consequence one may probably deduct from the quoted passage that not only Phraates, but also Artabanus died in the fight against the Scythians or Tochari, and the passage is thus, at the same time, again a proof that these Tochari were none other than the Yüeh-chih, which is distinctly shown by HALOUN [190]) and VAN WINDEKENS [191]) on the grounds of other information. We therefore do not think TARN is right in saying: "Tocharis may only be one of Justin's usual blunders in proper names." [192]) The invasion of Parthia, described by JUSTINUS in the just quoted passage, is therefore nothing more in fact than the attack by the Yüeh-chih or Tochari, for Scythians was simply a collective name. STRABO says about this: ... **τοὺς δὲ προσεῴους τούτων μᾶλλον Μασσαγέτας καὶ Σάκας ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κοινῶς μὲν Σκύθας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δ' ὡς ἑκάστους ....** [193]) "Scythians" is consequently, neither ethnographically nor linguistically nor culturally speaking, a unit, but only a geographical idea.

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188) JUSTINUS, XLII. 2. 1-3.

189) *Oeuvres complètes de Justin,* abrégé de *l'Histoire universelle de Trogue Pompée,* traduction française par JULES PIERROT et E. BOITARD. Edition soigneusement revue par M. E. PESSONNEAUX, Paris, no date, p. 372.

190) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tṣï Frage, Z.D.M.G.,* vol. 91, pp. 243-318.

191) A. J. VAN WINDEKENS, *Huns Blancs et Ārçi, Essai sur les appellations du "tokharien", Le Muséon,* vol. LIV, Louvain 1941, pp. 161-186 and *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens,* Louvain 1941, pp. XV-XXVII.

192) W. W. TARN, *The Invaders of Bactria,* in: *Seleucid-Parthian Studies, Proceedings of the British Academy* 1930, London, pp. 105-135, esp. p. 116.

193) STRABO, 11. 8. 2; C. 511.

It thus goes without saying that the Scythian invasion by the Yüeh-chih into Parthia in 129 B.C., described by western authors, is to be considered as one and the same expedition as the invasion into Bactria by the Yüeh-chih, which we know from Chinese sources. We think therefore that it is a mistake to bring in a division here only because together with the Yüeh-chih also Śakas have been mentioned by western authors in some cases. Our idea, that the Yüeh-chih—Tochari *together with* the Śakas, as they had become partly assimilated, conquered Bactria in 129 B.C., tallies wholly with the Chinese narratives, and also the prologue of chapter XLI of TROGUS POMPEIUS agrees with this, for it mentions only that "Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos", "The Śakas and Yüeh-chih have occupied Bactria and Sogdia".

But to return to our starting-point: whether there was a Śaka invasion in 160 (or 155) B.C. or not [194]) finally does not make much difference to our reasoning, for when we search for the date of the conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih mentioned in the Chinese record of the *Hou han shu,* it is undoubtedly 129 B.C., which agrees very well with STRABO and JUSTINUS. We see therefore that the commencement of the old era is situated in the year 129 B.C.

Next to the old era we have stated the existence of an era which was specially used by Kaniṣka and his successors. It goes without saying that the following question to be faced will be: What was the position of those eras in relation to each other? that is to say, did the Kaniṣka era come after this old era or were they, for some time, used next to each other?

KONOW's first conception was that they were used simultaneously. In February 1947 he supposed the existence of an old Parthian era, and consequently the date with the highest number of the old era would be equal to (249 B.C. + 399 =) 150 A.D. As KONOW then supposed that Kaniṣka's reign must have begun about the year 138 A.D., it comes nearly to the same thing that the older era was supplanted by Kaniṣka's chronological system and that after about ten years, the latter was the only one in use.

194) See for this question moreover Ch. VII, pp. 327-328.

KONOW's last opinion was that Kaniṣka started his reign in about 200 A.D. [195]), which even leaves a gap of about half a century between the end of the old era and the beginning of the Kaniṣka era.

There are different objections to the conception that the era of Kaniṣka only began after the old era.

First of all, the date of Kaniṣka's accession to the throne would be about 129 B.C. + about 400 = ± 270 A.D., which is impossible.

Further, as we have shown above [196]), the series of inscriptions with the dates 303-399, began only after the Kaniṣka dynasty, which is the same as saying that the 100 years during which Kaniṣka and his successors reigned came before the year 303.

These are just so many arguments to point out that the Kaniṣka era did not commence after the end of the use of the old era. There is, however, one objection, viz. the Brāhmī inscription of the year 299, of which KONOW formerly, on wrong grounds however, rightly thought that the date which BANERJI wished to assume for it, namely about the beginning of our era, was too early.

This inscription in question, of the year 299 [197]), was first published by BÜHLER [198]), who thought that the date referred to the Kaniṣka era. This era, according to him, would have omitted the number for 200, so that, for example, 52 would be 252. The era used by Kaniṣka and his successors would then be the same as that in the Brāhmī inscription on the Āmohinī tablet and in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, which would begin in the first half of the 1st century B.C., and so the piece in question would be one

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195) S. KONOW, *Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions, India Antiqua,* p. 195.

196) See pp. 19-22.

197) The inscription is N° 78 in: H. LÜDERS, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest Times to about A.D. 400, with the exception of those of Aśoka. Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archeological Survey of India,* vol. 10, Calcutta 1912; henceforth abbreviated as LÜDERS' *List.*

198) G. BÜHLER, *Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathurā, The Academy,* vol. 49, 2nd May 1896, pp. 367-368; *Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathurā, J.R.A.S.,* 1896, pp. 578-581; *Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathurā, W.Z.K.M.,* vol. X, 1896, pp 171-174.

of the very last edicts of Vāsudeva, and would date from the first half of the 3rd century A.D., about 200-250 A.D. VINCENT SMITH later on thought the date 299 should be referred to the Laukika era or the Vikrama era [199]).

In a voluminous article entitled *The Scythian period of Indian History* [200]) Professor R. D. BANERJI deals with several problems concerning the chronology of this period. In it also the inscription of 299 is discussed. According to his opinion, which we think is correct, the inscription must be much older than BÜHLER supposed. In favour of this BANERJI brings forward some palaeographical arguments, among others the fact, that in the piece discussed the sub-joined *ya* is always tripartite and never bipartite, while in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka's time the bipartite form is used simultaneously with the tripartite. His final conclusion is: "This form of *ya* is not to be found in any of the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period. This detailed examination clearly proves that the inscription from Mathura of the year 299 does not belong to the Kuṣana period. And likewise its date cannot be referred to the same era in which the Kuṣana inscriptions are dated. Then the question arises as to which era the date in the inscription is to be referred." [201])

In 1934 KONOW rightly remarked the following in his article *Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Saṁvat 299* [202]) regarding this statement of BANERJI: "His conclusion is that "it is certain that the date 299 must be referred to an era, the initial point of which lies in the third or fourth centuries before the Christian era. Only two such eras are known to have been in actual use in India. The first is the Maurya era which probably was counted from the coronation of Candragupta in or about B.C. 321 ...... The other era is founded by Seleukos Nikator in B.C. 312 ... If referred to the Maurya era, the year 299 is equivalent to 321—299 = 22 B.C.,

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199) V. SMITH, *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian Period of Indian History, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320, J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 1-64, esp. p. 38.

200) R. D. BANERJI, *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37, 1908, pp. 25-75.

201) Ibidem p. 40.

202) S. KONOW, *Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Saṁvat 299, K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, Poona 1934, p. 264.

and if referred to the Seleukidan era it becomes equal to 312—299 = 13 B.C." "

After this quotation KONOW continues: "Now it is a well-known fact that we do not possess the slightest scrap of reliable evidence to the effect that there ever existed a Maurya era or that the Seleukidan reckoning has in any period whatever, been used in India. It is of course not impossible that some foreign or national secular era may have been used in India before the advent of the Indo-Scythians, but if such should have been the case, no trace has so far been found. It is only in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period that we, for the first time, are faced with a secular era in India, and every theory which operates with secular eras is based not on facts, but on conjecture." [203])

KONOW then proceeds to refute the opinion of BANERJI that the palaeography of the inscription should point to a great antiquity. Quoting BÜHLER [204]), he says: "As regards the details, the following innovations (viz. in the Kuṣāṇa period) deserve special mention: ... The bar denoting the length of *Ā* is attached low down; ... The *kha* ... is mostly triangular below; ... The lower end of *da* ... is drawn further to the right, and the bulge on the right becomes larger; ... The horizontal stroke of *na* is curved ... or looped ...; ... The *va* is occasionally rounded on the left ... the Visarga first appears in these inscriptions ..."

KONOW continues: "An examination of the plate published by Professor Banerji, l.c. p. 66, shows that the details mentioned above are found in our inscription.

"Old forms are found in the first four lines of the record; cf. the initial *na* and especially the *ya* and the *śa*. Professor Banerji is, however, if his plate is reliable, mistaken when he says that the subscript *ya* is always tripartite, for in *mahāvirāsya,* l. 2, we have the later tripartite form." [205])

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203) S. KONOW, ibidem, pp. 264-265.

204) G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde,* Band I, Heft 11, Strassburg 1896, § 19.

205) S. KONOW, *Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Saṁvat 299, K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume,* Poona 1934, pp. 265-266.

We must indeed assume that in this case a very dangerous misprint has crept into the text, for the later form of the *ya* is *not* tripartite, but bipartite.

But even when we would suppose the existence of this misprint, we regret that we cannot agree with Konow's opinion. What can be seen in the rubbing reproduced in the article by Banerji is decidedly not a bipartite *ya*. Konow, who imagined that he saw in the worn-away part, could just as well have completed the character as . The last supposition is therefore more probable, because the whole piece continually shows the tripartite *ya*, to wit, in line 1 in *māhārājasya* and *rājātirājasya*; in line 4 in *śirikasya* and *śivadīnasya*.

Further, Konow makes a comparison between the inscription of 299 under consideration and that of Śoḍāsa of the year 72 and rightly arrives at the conclusion that the inscription of 299 must be later. Now Konow starts from the supposition that the inscription of Śoḍāsa is dated in the Vikrama era, an idea which is perfectly illogical. He has himself been the one who continually pointed out, with the greatest emphasis, that this era was a specific national Indian era, which even should have come into being after the victory over the Scythians by the legendary king Vikramāditya. Be this as it may, it would anyway be very strange if a Śaka kṣatrapa should use an era in his inscriptions which was instituted in memory of a victory over his own race. Konow arrived at this inacceptable hypothesis as it was the only way out of the difficulties into which his data brought him, yet we shall see that those difficulties find their own solution if we leave these anomalies alone and allow the inscription of Śoḍāsa to pertain to the old era, just as all the others of the kṣatrapas.

For Konow, however, who thought that the inscription of Śoḍāsa originated from 15 A.D., this inscription was a definite proof that Banerji's conclusion about the date of the inscription of 299, in 22 B.C. (reckoning according to the Maurya era), or

13 B.C. (reckoning according to the Seleucidian era), was incorrect.

The fact, that the inscription of 299 cannot pertain to these eras, has, according to him, "its parallels in the North-west, where palaeographical considerations make it impossible to refer the dates of the Loriyan Tangai, the Jamalgarhi, the Hashtnagar and the Skarah Dheri inscriptions to eras such as the Seleukidan or the hypothetical Maurya reckoning." [206])

KONOW's final conclusion is that the piece must be dated in the same era in which the old Kharoṣṭhī documents are dated: "... according to the chronology adopted as a working hypothesis in my edition, our record would belong to A.D. 45, corresponding to the year 88 of the Kaniṣka era, and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja would be Vāsudeva, the Kuṣāṇa Emperor." [207])

These calculations are wholly incomprehensible unless we admit that also here a serious fault has crept in, and that instead of 45 A.D. it must be 215 A.D. In that case it would agree with the opinion given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* that the old era began in the year 84 B.C. KONOW had, however, already retracted this last opinion in 1932.

Apart from the date 215(?) A.D. it is quite impossible that the inscription from Mathurā could originate from the year 88 of the Kaniṣka era. For this statement many arguments could be summed up, but we will restrict ourselves to the most striking.

First of all, the form of the ligature *ku* in the word *devakulaṃ* in line 5 ⟨character⟩. The *u* is a stroke going upwards, and there is no sign of a box-head. The *ya* has still the round form ⟨character⟩, and not yet the later square one in which the middle upright slants backwards, while there is a small loop at the left of the character ⟨character⟩. The long *ī*, for instance in line 4: *śīvadīnasya* ⟨character⟩, is still delineated with two hooks on the character, instead of one curl

206) S. KONOW, ibidem, p. 267.
207) Ibidem, p. 268.

as in later times. The bipartite *ya,* as far as we can see, is not represented; and so there are several more arguments that could be mentioned. The box-head is not, or hardly ever, to be found in the whole inscription, and the entire ductus, at most, reminds us of the pieces of Kaniṣka's time, but decidedly not later, and then only of the beginning of his reign[208]).

Our conclusion is thus that KONOW's opinion, that the piece is later than the inscription of Śoḍāsa, is correct, but his idea that it dates from 88 of the Kaniṣka era is a mistake. On comparison the piece fits in better with the very earliest inscriptions of Kaniṣka's time.

In our opinion BANERJI was quite right when he thought that the piece was older than BÜHLER supposed, but his hypothesis regarding a Seleucidian era, or Mauryan era, had neither rhyme nor reason, and in that respect we would like to agree with KONOW's remarks about this.

KONOW's last idea was a Parthian era which begins in the year 249 or 259 B.C. [209]), and therefore the inscription should date from the year 249 + 299 = 50 A.D. or 259 + 299 = 40 A.D. That this is also impossible clearly appears from the palaeography; the inscription from its great resemblance to the early pieces of Kaniṣka's time must have been written after 40 or 50 A.D. Moreover this theory would include that all inscriptions with high numbers in the dates were written either just before or during the reign of this last named Emperor, and this we have proved to be incorrect in pages 19-22. KONOW himself has, moreover, once pointed out that the palaeography of those pieces denotes a late date, as, for example, the inscription from Loriyān Tāṅgai of the year 318 [210]), and this is yet underlined by FOUCHER's opinion that the

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208) For particulars about the palaeography of the Brāhmī inscriptions see Ch. IV and V.

209) See p. 16.

210) *Corpus,* p. 106, see also *Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Saṁvat 299, K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume,* p. 267.

stūpa, where this image in question was found, could not be very old and presumably dated from the 2nd century A.D. [211]).

As matters are now we have therefore an inscription of the year 299, which, as KONOW rightly remarked and later on confirmed [212]), presumably used the same era as the inscriptions from North-West India, to wit, those of Chārsadda of 303, Loriyān Tāṅgai of 318, Jamālgaṛhī of 359, Hashtnagar of 384, Skārah Ḍherī of 399, and so this inscription would date after Kaniṣka's dynasty. This inscription of 299, however, shows strong palaeographical resemblances to the very earliest inscriptions of King Kaniṣka. Further, the mention of a mahārāja rājātirāja without the proper name reminds us of the passages in the inscriptions at our disposal dating from the time before Kaniṣka, in which also a mahārāja is mentioned, but not his proper name, as, for example, in the inscription of Panjtār of 122, the Taxila inscription on silver of 136, and that of 191, where the name of the king is not mentioned, but only a "maharajabhrata".

During the dynasty of Kaniṣka this was very unusual, and the proper name was always added to the title of mahārāja rājātirāja. All this together with the very clear palaeographical indications ought to point to a date for the inscription of 299, which would be just before Kaniṣka's accession to the throne.

This must bring us to the conclusion that the inscriptions of the years 318, 359, 384, and 399, and possibly even that of 303, were made during the reign of Kaniṣka and his immediate successors, while we have brought forward [213]) two decisive proofs that the series of inscriptions with high numbers in their dates can only be dated after the dynasty of Kaniṣka. Considering all these arguments there must still be a fault hidden in our reasoning about the inscription from Mathurā. It cannot be denied that the palaeography shows that the Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā under discussion immediately preceeds Kaniṣka, and therefore it seems

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211) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 490.

212) S. KONOW, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303, Acta Or.*, vol. XX, 1948, p. 115.

213) See pp. 19-22 and 51 above.

that we have got into a very disagreeable position, because we are forced to draw the following very inacceptable conclusions, viz., that in this special case Kaniṣka and his successors should have reconciled themselves to the fact that in Gandhāra and Afghānistān the old era, which was in vogue before Kaniṣka constituted his realm and instituted an era of his own, continued to be used. This becomes even more improbable when the totalitarian and absolute power of the Kuṣāṇa rulers is only slightly realized, and when we conceive that Gandhāra and Afghānistān in the eyes of the Kuṣāṇas were a far more important part of the kingdom than Mathurā. Apart from the unlikeliness of the overlapping of different eras, there are, moreover, indisputable proofs that the Kaniṣka dynasty could not be dated during or after the series of inscriptions with high numbers in their dates. On closer scrutiny of the inscription there fortunately appears a very simple solution for this seemingly unsolvable question.

The date which up till now has been read by all scholars as 299 is really 199, and this solves the problems [214]. But let us first account for this change in the reading: The character for the hundreds, as far as it is visible, has the following shape: and, although the crack in the stone begins near the character, is clearly to be seen. BÜHLER, in his list [215] of the characters for the numbers, does not give a sign for 100 or 200 for the Kuṣāṇa period, but does indeed give them for the Kṣatrapa coins. In a detailed examination we discovered that the principle on which the creation of the signs for the hundreds is based is the following. For 100

214) The only person who seems to have felt that there really was a problem in this date 299, is LÜDERS, judging by the notes which Professor GEORG MORGENSTIERNE of Oslo took down in 1915 when following the lectures of LÜDERS at Berlin. LÜDERS expressed his doubt about the date and suggested reading *saṃ* instead of *200* but this is impossible as the date is expressed in words also in the end of line 1 as *svarvaccharasvate* ... which shows that there is in any case question of hundreds. We wish to thank Professor MORGENSTIERNE most cordially for his kindness in lending us his note-book, containing the remarks which LÜDERS made during his lectures on Brāhmī inscriptions.

215) G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, Table IX.

an *a* is written, for 200, an *ā* (this is an *a,* plus a horizontal line at the left of the character), and for 300 an *ā* with an extra stroke at the left side of the character. We find this principle applied in the Western Kṣatrapa coins; here the basic sign has developed from an *a*: → → , but also in much later times in the script used by the Valabhī kings in the 6th-8th century, and in the Nepalese manuscript at Cambridge N° 866 we find this principle again. The characters for the hundreds on the Kṣatrapa coins are therefore as follows [216]):

100:
200:
300:

Presumably the character for the hundreds in the inscription from Mathurā of the year 199 has always been read as 200, because at the top it seems to show a horizontal line to the right. If, in reality, it would be 200, then the sign must agree with the other *ā*'s which appear in the inscription, and that is not the case. In *ārahāttanaṃ* in line 1, *ārāhāto* in line 2, and *ārāhātāyatāne* in line 4, we thrice find an *ā* which clearly has a horizontal line in the middle or at the bottom of the upright which distinguishes it from the *a*: . Now in the character for the hundreds this line is missing halfway down the upright. It could be put forward that the stroke at the upper right corner in this case is the stroke under discussion, and has been moved slightly upwards here; that is still no solution, for the stroke which we see on the right at the top of the character for the hundreds seems to appear from time to time together with the lower stroke as we distinctly see in *ārāhā-tāyatāne* in line 4, and perhaps in *ārāhāto* in line 2, so that this stroke at the right above, in this sort of script, often is not the stroke that distinguishes the *ā* from the *a*, as it is here in the *ā* continually half-way, or even lower down, attached to the upright [217]).

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216) E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka dynasty, and the "Bodhi" dynasty,* London 1908, p. CCVIII.

217) Another striking example of an *a* with a horizontal stroke at the top of

Altogether we think this is a distinct proof that we must read the date of the inscription as 199. Concerning the end of the first line, in which BÜHLER and BANERJI thought they could read *s(v)avaccharas(v)ate d(u)* [218]) we must make the following remarks.

First of all, the word is clearly *svate.* BÜHLER and BANERJI were not sure whether this was followed by a syllable *du.* In the rubbing, with the best of intentions, perhaps a *d* could be read: But the *u* is not to be seen at all, as the stroke which BÜHLER and BANERJI took for it goes too far slanting downwards to the left. In line 3: *vitu,* and line 5: *devakulaṃ* (see p. 55), the subjoined *u* appears still as a horizontal stroke on the right at the bottom of the character running upwards, not downwards.

Because the stone is broken nothing can be said about the words following *svate.* It might have been a literal mentioning of: one hundred and ninety-nine, written in full.

If BÜHLER and BANERJI were right, and we could read *s(v)ate du,* even then it could be the year 199, and we would only have to suppose that *ekuna* followed, which together with 200 would also signify 199, just as in the inscription from Skārah Ḍherī, in which 399 is indicated with *ek(u)ṇacaduśatimae,* and in LÜDERS' *List* N° 35, where the year 29 is also expressed with the help of the word *ekuna,* viz. *ekunatī(śa)* [219]), so that it was apparently customary to use the word *ekuna* to express a number like 199 as "200 minus one".

It is difficult to make a choice between these two possibilities as it depends upon how much of the stone is broken off. If a large part, then there is more to be said for the first possibility; if only a small part, then more is to be said for the solution with *ekuna.* This can only be decided when a photograph of the top, taken from above, is at our disposal, as there presumably will be

the upright (which is, however, no *ā*) can be found in LÜDERS' *List* N° 25; Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 13 in line A: asyā.

218) R. D. BANERJI, *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 37, pl. III opposite p. 66.

219) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 26.

traces of the feet of the Mahāvīra image which, judging by the contents of the inscription, must originally have stood or sat there. As the feet always stand in the middle it should be possible to find out how much of the inscription has been broken off.

Let us now return to our starting-point. We see then that the reading 199 in stead of 299 takes away our confusion, so that we no longer have to assume, in spite of all kinds of distinct proofs, that Kaniṣka and his successors used two chronological systems in their kingdom.

What then is the case?

As the Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā appears, in our opinion, to be 100 years older than was assumed up till now, the group of inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors, so closely related in palaeography and in contents, must also be ante-dated, and will have to be placed in the chronological sequence after the inscriptions from Khalatse of 187, from Taxila of 191, the inscription under discussion from Mathurā of 199, and that from Dewai of 200. The Kaniṣka inscriptions do indeed follow this group immediately, for in the inscription from Khalatse, Wima Kadphises is mentioned, as KONOW lately proved once more [220]), after F. W. THOMAS had doubted this. It is at present an indisputable fact that this monarch, if he was not the immediate predecessor of King Kaniṣka, was only separated from him by a few decades. That this inscription from Khalatse just as all the other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions bears a date of the old era, and not, as KONOW assumes in an exceptional way, a date of the Vikrama era is, we think, clear, after all that has been said about the use of the Vikrama era by a Kuṣāṇa.

Besides this, the inscription from Khalatse is one more proof that the group of inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors chronologically connect with the inscriptions just mentioned above. And now the remarkable fact appears, that, when we draw up a scheme of the known dated Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, an unbroken

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220) S. KONOW, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303*, *Acta Or.*, vol. XX, 1948, pp. 117-119.

series appears to have existed from the year 58 down to the year 200, but after the date 200 there is suddenly a great gap. From that time onwards no inscriptions were made in the old era, until 102 years afterwards, when again a beginning was made with the inscription from Chārsadda of the year 303 of the old era (see list B, p. 389).

This most remarkable and striking vacancy in the rather serried row of inscriptions from the year 58 onwards can now suddenly be explained by the insertion of the group of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors which, extending from the year 1 to 89, pretty nearly fills this century-long vacancy.

On the one hand, by the evident data which the inscriptions from Mathurā of 199 and from Khalatse of 187 provide for us, the beginning of this series of inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his successors connects closely with the place where the series of inscriptions of the old era suddenly breaks off.

On the other hand the end of the Kaniṣka series connects (as we have made acceptable above) again with the beginning of the series of inscriptions in the old era, which is composed of the group with high numbers in their dates from 303-399.

Our conclusion, therefore, must be that Kaniṣka indeed generally introduced the new era throughout his whole kingdom and did away with the old era, and that in Gandhāra during his sway only one chronological system was in use. After the fall of the dynasty, the old era which had taken root there came again into use in the North-West, and so we see in 303 the old era coming to the fore and continuing in use until at least 399. In Mathurā, the more Indian part of the kingdom, the old era was apparently never very much in use [221]), because the Kṣatrapa mastery lasted only a short time, hence the era had never become their own property, and so, after the down-fall of the dynasty, the old era did not return, but the Kaniṣka era was maintained. Perhaps the successors of Kaniṣka ruled longer in Mathurā

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221) Viz. only in the inscription of the year 72, during the reign of Soḍāsa, and the inscription from Mathurā of the year 199.

than in the North-West of the country from whence they originally came. The indianisation of Vāsudeva could also point to this [222].

We see, therefore, at the present extent of our knowledge, that the year 1 of the Kaniṣka era must be either in or shortly after the year 200 of the old era—in other words that Kaniṣka began to reign shortly after the year 71 of our chronological system. Or, that the year 89 of the Kaniṣka era must be in or shortly before the year 303 of the old era, so that the year 1 of the Kaniṣka era must be just before the year 86 A.D.

This tallies with the fact that the reign of the octogenarian Kujūla Kadphises together with that of Wima Kadphises and Jihoṇika could not have lasted for more than about 100 years. Considering that Kujūla Kadphises came to the throne in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., then we must expect that the accession of Kaniṣka took place about the last quarter of the 1st century A.D.

As KONOW wished to date the group of inscriptions from 303-309 at the same time or even before Kaniṣka (whom he assumes began to reign about 130 or 140 A.D.), he could not accept the fact that the era in which this group of inscriptions was dated was the same as the one of the inscriptions of Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises of 103-187, and he therefore had to accept another era for these last, which began much later than the old era, in order to bring the inscriptions of the Kadphises kings closer to the chronological system of 303-399 and to the Kaniṣka period. This explains how KONOW arrived at the very strange conclusion that Wima dated his inscriptions in the Vikrama era.

The theory regarding the old Śaka era beginning in 84/83 B.C. is founded on a mistaken interpretation of the word *ayasa.*

The theory of an era beginning in 150 B.C., which KONOW launched after the discovery of the copper plate from Kalawān, depended on a calculation which dated the inscription of Āmohinī in the Vikrama era, and that of Patika in the old Śaka era.

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222) See further Ch. VI.

It is, in the first place, inadmissable that under Soḍāsa another era should be used than the one used by Patika, his tribesman, as appears from the Lion capital. Secondly, it is improbable that Soḍāsa should all at once approve that in the same Mathurā where "nota bene" formerly, and later on, all inscriptions were dated in the old era, an inscription should be engraved under his sway, dated in an era which was introduced after a victory over his tribesmen by the Indians.

Finally, as we saw, the theory regarding the Parthian era seems also to be very improbable.

To return to our starting-point: we think we have made it acceptable: 1st, that before the accession of Kaniṣka only one era was in use; 2nd, that this was an era which was used by the Yüeh-chih alias Asii—Tochari—Tuṣāra, in which the greater part of the Śakas was absorbed; 3rd, that this era began in 129 B.C.; 4th, that not long after the year 200 of that era, i.e. shortly after 71 A.D. and before 86 A.D., Kaniṣka ascended the throne.

Now we know that the era used for more than 300 years by the Western Kṣatrapas, residing at Ujjain—the true vassals, also according to KONOW [223]), GHIRSHMAN and others [224]), of Kaniṣka's dynasty—was the Śaka era of 78 A.D. This is an incontrovertible fact as the last Kṣatrapa known to us from the unbroken sequence of coins which have been found connects with the Gupta dynasty which subjugated these rulers [225]). KIELHORN tried to prove this fact in another way [226]).

KONOW wishes to make us believe that the Śaka era of 78 A.D. was instituted by Wima Kadphises [227]) in memory of his victory over the Mālava's and was therefore also used by his feudal lords,

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223) *Corpus*, p. LXX.

224) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, pp. 135 and 174.

225) See A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. X, Calcutta 1880, Appendix, p. 127.

226) F. KIELHORN, *On the Dates of the Saka era in Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, vol. 26, 1897, pp. 146-153.

227) See p. 6.

the Western Kṣatrapas. According to KONOW, Wima himself, however, did not make use of this era but of the Vikrama era, which according to him, "nota bene", was instituted by an Indian king after a victory over the Śakas [228]).

It is clear how inacceptable these theories and hypotheses are. Why, for example, did Wima not just as well use the era that was instituted by himself?

If indeed we rightly may conclude that Kaniṣka began to reign shortly after 71 A.D., it seems to us, considering that his vassals in Ujjain used the Śaka era of 78 A.D., to be obvious that the so-called Kaniṣka era, which began in the first year of Kaniṣka's reign, is no other than the Śaka era of 78 A.D. (For further proofs and arguments see Chapter VII.)

We shall now consider in the following Chapters to which consequences in the different domains the results achieved in this Chapter lead us, such as the development of art, epigraphy, palaeography and also the history of this epoch in general.

APPENDIX

A detail that has led to much controversy among epigraphists is the question whether the date on the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa during Śoḍāsa's reign must be read as 72 or as 42. This question was formerly touched upon by LÜDERS [1]). BÜHLER in his *Indische Palaeography* had accepted the same two signs for 40 as well as for 70 [2]). LÜDERS, however, rightly starting from the opinion that it was impossible for one figure to be used for two numbers, suggested in the publication of N° 60 of LÜDERS' *List,* that X stood for the decimal 70, and finally he mentioned some inscriptions in which he would read X as 70. The weak point was, however, that his opinion was based on a damaged inscription and RAPSON rightly pointed

228) *Corpus, pp. LXVII-LXVIII and LXXXVIII: Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.,* 1932, p. 964.

1) H. LÜDERS, *Three early Brāhmī inscriptions, Ep. Ind.,* vol. 9, 1907-'08, pp. 239-248, esp. pp. 243-246.

2) G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie,* Tabel IX.

this out to him. RAPSON proposed to value the figure as 40, and consequently to read the date of the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa as 42 [3]). In an article in *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman* [4]) he made his view-point as clear as possible in all details, and combatted LÜDERS' opinion on grounds of the fact that the figure in LÜDERS' *List* N° 60 is illegible [5]) taking as an argument the decimal 70 in the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnār [6]) and the figures on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas.

In our opinion, this was the first point in which RAPSON's method was not altogether right, for even if it were possible that in Ujjain exactly the same form was used for the figures as in Mathurā, we must still leave room for the possibility that in the different parts of India divergent forms were written.

The second point in RAPSON's method with which we do not agree is that he used material for comparison from a much later time. The coins of the Western Kṣatrapas display the figure 40 only in the decades 140-149, and 240-249, i.e. one or two centuries after the Huviṣka inscriptions; in the case of the figure for 70, which we find on the coins in the decades 170-179 and 270-279, one must add even thirty years.

The Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa is still more distant from this material for comparison, viz. if one dates it in the year 42, that is to say 87 B.C., about 300-450 years distant; if one puts the date as 72, id est 57 B.C., about 275-400 years [7]). The average distance in time is therefore 300 to 400 years, which is too much to be of service as material for accurate comparison. It seems better to us then, if one wants to define the value of a figure in Mathurā, to take examples

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3) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 576.

4) E. J. RAPSON, *The date of the Āmohinī Votive Tablet of Mathurā, Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge 1929, pp. 49-52.

5) Ibidem, p. 51.

6) F. KIELHORN, *Junāgaḍh Rock-Inscription of Rudradāman, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 8, 1905-'06, pp. 36-49, esp. rubbing opposite p. 44.

7) From the year 42 of the old era to the year 140-279 of the Saka era = from 87 B.C. to 218-357 A.D. which is 305-444 years, say 3 à 4 centuries. From the year 72 of the old era, i.e. 30 years shorter: 275-414 years.

from the same district and from the same time, as material for comparison.

RAPSON does in fact grant LÜDERS, that the inscription LÜDERS' *List* N° 60 bears the date 74, which is proved by the mention of the name of Vāsudeva, but he opposes the idea that the figure for 70 on the stone looks like a St. Andrew's cross and says that it could just as well have been 𐡆. Now the said decimal is indeed no longer clearly legible in the rubbing: the stone which at present has disappeared, was probably damaged and, moreover, RAPSON says that afterwards some one has tried to touch up the rubbing with pencil. However, the drawings in the article by RĀJENDRĀLALA MITRA [8]) as well as those in that by DOWSON [9]) clearly show X. RAPSON concluded his article with the remark, that X was a sloping form of 𐡆 [10]).

The weak point in LÜDERS' argument that X is the figure for 70 was the broken inscription and the fact that in the seven inscriptions where, in his opinion, X was used for 70, there was no mention of a monarch, except once, unfortunately, of Huviṣka, who reigned from 33-60 of Kaniṣka's era, and not in the seventies.

In his answer to RAPSON's study [11]) LÜDERS points out that a number of palm-leaf manuscripts from East Turkestan gives evidence to the exactness of his hypothesis. Here one finds after the numeration 139 in the following number the character that LÜDERS wishes to read as 40, and in order to refute the idea that the St. Andrew's cross perhaps was used as a second form by others, or that the writer of the MS. gradually changed his 40, he brings forward two fragments from the same writer who uses both

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8) RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *Notes on Sanskrit Inscriptions from Mathurā, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 39, part I, 1870, pp. 117-130, esp. pl. VI, N° 15; henceforth abbreviated as *J.A.S.B.*

9) J. DOWSON, *Ancient Inscriptions from Mathura, J.R.A.S.*, New Series, vol. V, 1871, pp. 182-196, esp. N° 4.

10) E. J. RAPSON, *The date of the Āmohinī Votive Tablet of Mathurā. Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, p. 52.

11) H. LÜDERS, *Das Zeichen für 70 in den Inschriften von Mathurā aus der Śaka- und Kuṣana-Zeit. Acta Or.*, vol. X, 1932, pp. 118-125.

characters, and because one cannot accept the fact that this man wrote two entirely different characters for one number, the matter seems to be proved.

RAPSON does not leave it at that, and already in the following year his answer appears [12]). As an argument for his theory that X is only a sloping form of 𑁛 he advances the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas, viz. that at Nāsik of Ṛṣabhadatta dated in 42, and that of Ayama of 46 at Junnār [13]).

Afterwards he admits that LÜDERS is right as far as concerns the manuscript of East Turkestan; but he doubts whether the manuscript dates from the Kuṣāṇa period, and suggests the Gupta age.

Let us now consider what remains to be said about this question; out of the different material at our service, we will, as explained, preferably bring forward those characters for comparison which are nearest geographically as well as chronologically to the character under discussion of the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa, be it dated in 42 or 72. Geographically speaking the nearest inscriptions are those at Mathurā (of Huviṣka) of the decade 40-49 of the Kaniṣka era, and those (of Vāsudeva) of the decade 70-79 of the Kaniṣka era.

Chronologically speaking, the nearest inscriptions are again those just mentioned, as well as the inscriptions of Ayama, Ṛṣabhadatta and Rudradāman. As the inscriptions of Huviṣka and Vāsudeva satisfy both the desired demands, we shall examine them as to the form of the decimals used for 40 and 70. At the same time we will, however, discuss in our examination those inscriptions in which the contents clearly indicate that they must show either the character 40 or 70 in their dates. Those are then the 4 following inscriptions for the character 40 (1-4):

1. LÜDERS' *List* N° 45, a (Rubbing, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, p. 112, N° V) 𑁛

12) E. J. RAPSON, *The Numeral 40 in Inscriptions at Mathurā during the Śaka and Kuṣana period, Acta Or.*, vol. XI, 1933, pp. 260-264.

13) J. BURGESS, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions, Arch. Surv. of Western India,* vol. IV, London 1883, pp. 102 and 103, pl. LII, N° 9 and pl. LIV, N° 11.

2. LÜDERS' *List* N° 149, b (Rubbing, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1908-'09, pl. LVI, a)
3. LÜDERS' *List* N° 46 (Rubbing, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIV N° 15)
4. LÜDERS' *List* N° 47 (Rubbing, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 205, N° 20)

And for the figure 70, the inscriptions 5-10:

5. LÜDERS' *List* N° 60 (Rubbing, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 242)
6. LÜDERS' *List* N° 61 (Rubbing, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIV, N° 11)
7. LÜDERS' *List* N° 62 (Rubbing, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIV, N° 12)
8. LÜDERS' *List* N° 63 (Rubbing, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIV, N° 13)
9. LÜDERS' *List* N° 64 (Rubbing, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. 39, pl. VII, N° 18)
10. LÜDERS' *List* N° 65 (Rubbing, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIV, N° 14)

In addition the following explanations may be of service:

The inscriptions 1-3 mention Huviṣka's name in connection with the date; so here the character must have the value of 40.

N° 4 (LÜDERS' *List* N° 47) betrays by the contents of the inscription that the date must be read as 49, and not 79. In it namely a certain preacher Ārya Vṛddhahasti of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Vajrī śākhā, is mentioned. In another inscription on an image of the year 60 (LÜDERS' *List* N° 56) it is said that the image was made at the insistence of a certain preacher, who was again a pupil of Ārya Vṛddhahasti. It goes without saying therefore that the inscription LÜDERS' *List* N° 47 is older than LÜDERS' *List* N° 60; vice versa seems pretty well excluded. In case this internal indication might not be considered as definite, then there is still a

clear external indication, viz. in the relief itself (fig. 66). On the remaining right half of the base a lion is visible turned outwards. This is, as we shall see, a characteristic of the bases before the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era. Later on they were always represented "en face". The graceful adorants moreover indicate that the relief was made during the first part of the Kuṣāṇa period when stiffness had not yet entered into the sculptures.

In N° 5 the decimal must have the value of 70, as is indicated by the mention of the name of Vāsudeva in connection with the date.

Nos 6-10 are inscriptions on pillars, which, as they were all discovered together by CUNNINGHAM [14]) and their contents are very similar, and as moreover they are all dated in the same year, must be equally old. The palaeography of Nos 6 and 8 points to the fact that the figure X must be read as 70. The form of the character *ku* is namely similar to that which we know from the second half of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era [15]). It is therefore not probable that the decimal sign must be read as 40.

It seems to us that with this the matter is sufficiently proved, for the four inscriptions of which it is certain that they must bear the figure 40, show the decimal sign , while the six inscriptions which ought to show the decimal 70 show X, except N° 9 which is damaged.

These are then the examples of 40 and 70, which are geographically nearest to the inscription of Āmohinī. Chronologically the nearest is the same group, plus the inscriptions of Rudradāman, Ṛṣabhadatta and Ayama. Of these three inscriptions the first must give the date 72 as it is also written in words behind the character. The decimal sign displays the following shape: . The inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta displays a decimal sign that is not the same as that of Rudradāman, but agrees with what we usually find in Mathurā for 40, so that we presumably may read it as 40. The character in the inscription of Ayama could be taken

14) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pp. 30 seq.
15) See Ch. IV and V and List C.

for a St. Andrew's cross, but it could just as well be the same sign as that in the inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta only slightly more sharply drawn and more compact so that it appears as if the left upper hook and the right lower hook of the slanting upright run into one. We can account for this difference between the decimal for 40 in the inscriptions of Ayama and Ṛṣabhadatta and that in Mathurā by the fact that the first two inscriptions are about 200 years earlier than those of Huviṣka[16]), but even taking this chronological difference into account, then it still seems that the geographical factor is of more importance, for this character for 40 points already in the direction of the form for 40 displayed later on on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas . Moreover the difference in the decimal for 70 in the inscriptions of Rudradāman and Vāsudeva can *not* be explained by a chronological difference. It appears namely that the character for 70 in the inscription of Rudradāman is somewhat different from the one in use at the same time in Mathurā. It is more similar to the form which the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas show in later times for 70 . Geographical considerations therefore seem to be of more importance.

The decimal for 70 in Mathurā, according to LÜDERS originates from the character for 60, by adding a line at the left. We would like to add that this principle applies equally to the character for 70 in Ujjain as appears from the following list:

	60		70	
Mathurā:	Y	→	X	
Ujjain:	...	→		(Rudradāman)
Ujjain:		→		(Western Kṣatrapa coins of 2 centuries later)

on the coins of Ujjain is not to be confused with the more

16) For the date of Nahapāna and consequently of Ayama and Ṛṣabhadatta see Ch. VII, pp. 331-332.

compact form for [sign], which was usual in Mathurā two centuries earlier.

From the foregoing we are thus able to state that the characters in the districts Mathurā and Ujjain were written differently after the course of some centuries. The inscriptions prove this, and the script on the coins which diverges still more is a confirmation as well.

The results we get are these:

In Mathurā the sign for 40 was: [sign] and for 70: [sign]
In Ujjain the sign for 40 was: [sign] and for 70: [sign]
Some centuries later, on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas, the sign for 40 was: [sign] and for 70: [sign]

Our conclusion therefore is that probably about the beginning of the Christian era the divergence between the northern and southern branch of alphabets started.

A last argument in favour of the opinion that the Āmohinī tablet is dated in the year 72 is, that it is improbable that the finely carved āyāgapaṭa would be earlier than the clumsy Lion Capital. Moreover this Capital mentions Śoḍāsa as kṣatrapa while the āyāgapaṭa already styles him mahākṣatrapa.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ART OF NORTH-WEST INDIA

When dating the art of Gandhāra most writers started either from style-critical remarks, in which case especially the art of Greece and Rome served as "tertium comparationis", or from an aesthetical appreciation of the reliquaries of Kaniṣka and that of Bīmarān, while also hypotheses regarding the era in which some images are dated, exercised influence. The first way of arriving at a chronological fixing of the school of North-West India may undoubtedly lead to correct results in some cases, provided it is carefully used, but the two other methods must be rejected in advance, as we will see later on.

In the course of time a large number of various opinions have been put forward, the principal ones of which we will sum up in chronological order.

Sir ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM in 1871 was the first to give a scientifically formed judgement concerning the date of the art of Gandhāra [1]. According to him the golden age of this art took place during the reigns of the Emperor Kaniṣka and his successors, namely from about 40 B.C. to 100 A.D., while some pieces would date already from about the year 80 B.C. CUNNINGHAM identified the era in which the pieces of these monarchs are dated with the Vikrama era. Moreover, he thought that the founder of this era was Wima Kadphises [2], so that the reign of Kaniṣka would begin

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1) For the sake of brevity we omit the opinions of older archaeologists as they do not contribute much to a solution of the problem. Less important explanations, like those of SIMPSON, DENIKER and G. C. M. BIRDWOOD (*The Industrial arts of India, South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks*, London 1880), have also been omitted.

2) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pp. 39 and 41-45.

about the year 40 B.C. [3]). Why CUNNINGHAM settled the flourishing period during Kaniṣka's reign, we will not consider here, as it would involve us in a too lengthy discussion.

In 1883 CUNNINGHAM identifies the era of Kaniṣka with that of the Seleucids, omitting the number 400, so that Kaniṣka's accession to the throne occurred about the year 80 A.D. CUNNINGHAM then assumes the end of the Indo-Scythian mastery in North India to be about the year 190 A.D. [4]). Because of this change of opinion his date of the golden age of Gandhāra art had necessarily to be changed as well, and indeed CUNNINGHAM correspondingly confirms this date in a letter to VINCENT SMITH of January 8th, 1889: "I would, therefore, ascribe all the greater works, both sculpture and architecture, to the flourishing period of Kushān sway under Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva—, or from 80 to 200 A.D." [5])

In 1876 FERGUSSON advanced an opinion, which was in flat contradiction to that of CUNNINGHAM. Because of reasons we will omit for the sake of brevity here, he placed the flourishing period of Gandhāra about the year 400 A.D., and the duration of the whole school from the 1st century B.C. until the 8th century of the Christian era [6]).

In 1889 VINCENT SMITH distinguished Hellenistic and Roman influences from the West on North-West India. The "Indo-Roman School", as he called the art of the area in question, in his opinion, came into existence about the year 200 A.D., and decayed about the year 350 or 450 A.D. at the latest [7]). In 1903 SMITH pushes the flourishing period back a little to the year 100-300 A.D. [8]). In 1904 he writes, as in 1911, that in his opinion the flourishing period

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3) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V, p. VI of the Introduction.

4) Published by VINCENT SMITH in *Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India, J.A.S.B.*, vol. 58, part I, 1889, p. 149.

5) Published by VINCENT SMITH, ibidem.

6) J. FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London 1876, pp. 181-182.

7) VINCENT SMITH, *Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India. J.A.S.B.*, vol. 58, part I, 1889, pp. 107-201, esp. p. 172.

8) VINCENT SMITH, *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History, B.C 165 to A.D. 320, J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 1-64, esp. p. 52.

coincides with the reign of Kaniṣka [9]): "Whenever the date of Kanishka, the celebrated king of Gandhāra, shall be determined, that of the best period of Hellenistic sculpture will also be known. Many of them undoubtedly are contemporary with him, though some are earlier and others later. Without going into complicated antiquarian discussions, it may suffice to say here that none of the sculptures are later than A.D. 600, few, if any, later than 400, and that in all probability extremely few are earlier than the Christian era. The culmination of the art of the school may be dated from about A.D. 50 to A.D. 150 or 200." [10])

These fluctuations in SMITH's ideas about the date of Gandhāra art are due, inter alia, to his continually changing opinion about the year 1 of Kaniṣka's reign. In 1889 he assumes that this monarch reigned from the year 78 till about 110 A.D. [11]). In 1903 he gives the period as 125-152 A.D. [12]). In 1911 he returns to his former opinion [13]), to support again in 1919 the year 120 A.D. as the date of Kaniṣka's accession to the throne [14]).

In 1890 EMILE SENART pointed to some mistakes made by FERGUSSON in his attempt to date the art of North-West India. As influences from Gandhāra on Amarāvatī can already be stated in the 2nd century A.D. SENART's opinion is: "La période de floraison et de grande expansion de cet art est antérieure à la seconde moitié du IIe siècle" [15]) and further "...... en rapportant au Ier et au

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9) VINCENT SMITH, *The Early History of India,* Oxford 1904, p. 233, 2nd ed. 1908, p. 248.

10) VINCENT SMITH, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* Oxford 1911, 1st ed., p. 99, 2nd ed., pp. 52-53.

11) VINCENT SMITH, *Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India, J.A.S.B.,* vol. 58, part I, 1889, pp. 107-201, esp. p. 193.

12) VINCENT SMITH, *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320, J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 1-64, esp. pp. 31 and 61.

13) VINCENT SMITH, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* 1st ed., p. 99; 2nd ed., pp. 52-53.

14) VINCENT SMITH, *Oxford History of India,* Oxford 1919, p. 127.

15) EMILE SENART, *Notes d'épigraphie indienne, III: De quelques monuments indo-bactriens, B: Les statues de Sikri. J.A.,* 1890, 8e série, tome XV, pp. 130-163, esp. p. 150.

IIe siècle de notre ère la masse des sculptures jusqu'ici connues, nous ne risquerons de nous égarer que de bien peu." [16])

The next person to give his opinion is ALFRED GRÜNWEDEL. In the chronological list in his *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* he assumes the starting-point of the school of Gandhāra to be about the year 100 A.D., while he annotates the 4th century A.D. as the "Hauptbauperiode von Gāndhāra" [17]). Elsewhere in the same book he fixes the beginning of the school a century earlier: "Aus stilistischen Gründen, welche zumeist aus der griechisch-römischen Kunst sich ergeben, ist als Zeit der Entwicklung nur die Zeit um Christi Geburt bis zum vierten Jahrhundert möglich." [18])

After GRÜNWEDEL came FOUCHER, who, since 1894, had been very intensively occupied with the problem of the date of North-West Indian art. Originally he agreed with the opinion of SENART [19]), but later on he decided [20]), on account of the—according to him and to others [21])—decadent style of the reliquary of Shāh-jī-kī Dherī, discovered in the meantime, that, "la constitution de l'école gréco-bouddhique est sensiblement antérieure à Kaniṣka" [22]). Consequently he ascribes the origin of North-West Indian art to the 1st century B.C., the flourishing period to the

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16) E. SENART, ibidem, p. 163.

17) A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien. Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* Berlin 1890, 1st ed., p. XIV.

18) Ibidem, 1st ed., p. 81.

19) A. FOUCHER, *L'art bouddhique dans l'Inde d'après un livre récent, Revue de l'histoire des religions,* année 15, tome XXX, Paris 1894, pp. 318-371, esp. p. 328, and *A.G.B.,* vol. I, p. 42.

20) In 1912: A. FOUCHER, *L'origine grecque de l'image du Bouddha, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de vulgarisation,* tome XXXVIII, Chalons-sur-Saone 1912, pp. 231-272, Eng. ed. *The Greek Origin of the Image of Buddha* in *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology,* Paris-London 1917, pp. 111-138.

In 1913: according to F. W. THOMAS in *The Date of Kanishka. J.R.A.S.,* 1913, p. 632. In 1928: *Bukkyo Bijutsu Kenkyu* (Studies concerning the Fine Arts of Buddhism), Lecture by FOUCHER for the Maison Franco-Japonaise at Tokyo, entitled: *Études sur l'art bouddhique de l'Inde.*

21) For instance MARSHALL, SPOONER and VOGEL, see for instance: D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍhērī, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1908-'09, pp. 38-59, esp. p. 50.

22) *A.G.B.,* vol. II, p. 442.

1st century A.D., after which decay begins in the 2nd half of that century [23]).

In 1903 VOGEL declared that in his opinion the era, in which some images from Gandhāra are dated, must be the Seleucidian era because he considers in agreement with SENART the first two centuries of the Christian era to be the flourishing period, after which the "degeneration" or Indianisation of the true Greek tradition begins [24]).

Later on he does not touch upon the matter as to which era has been used in the dated inscriptions in question, but, sharing the opinion of FOUCHER, thinks on account of the reliquary of Kaniṣka, that the golden age had passed already before the reign of that monarch, "that is to say probably in the beginning of the second century A.D.". [25])

In 1919 GAURANGA NATH BANERJEE also agreed with FOUCHER, only he gave a wider margin to the duration of that period, viz. from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. [26]). In his opinion the era of Kaniṣka is the same as the Vikrama era, so that, when following this reasoning one should have to conclude that he ascribes the flourishing period of Gandhāra to even before 58 B.C.

The next person to pronounce an opinion is HACKIN, in 1923 [27]), who places the period of decay later, viz. only in the 5th century A.D. as a result of the invasion of the White Huns.

Most archaeologists agree for the greater part, or wholly, with FOUCHER's opinion, that during Kaniṣka's reign the flourishing period of Gandhāra art had ended. To mention only a few:

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23) *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 496.

24) J. PH. VOGEL, *Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures*, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1903-'04, pp. 244-260, esp. p. 259.

25) J. PH. VOGEL, *De Buddhistische Kunst van Voor-Indië*, Amsterdam 1932, p. 35.

26) G. N. BANERJEE, *Hellenism in Ancient India*. 1st ed., London 1919, pp. 51, 52.

27) J. HACKIN, *Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Les collections bouddhiques (Exposé historique et iconographique). Inde Centrale et Gandhāra. Turkestan, Chine Septentrionale. Tibet*, Paris 1923, p. 24.

ADAM [28]), SCHERMAN [29]), GROUSSET [30]), VOGEL [31]), BANERJEE [32]), and WALDSCHMIDT [33]).

Chronologically then follows BACHHOFER's opinion in 1925 in his *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik,* copied almost word for word in his handbook *Die frühindische Plastik* four years later, but we will leave the discussion of it for a while, to return to it later on in more detail.

COOMARASWAMY, too, assumes the 1st century B.C. till the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. for the life of the art of North-West India. In contrast to FOUCHER, however, he puts the flourishing period in the reign of Kaniṣka [34]), according to him from 120-160 A.D.

For nearly a decennium no new ideas on the subject are put forward, till in 1936 ROWLAND decides, on the base of stylistic comparisons between Roman art and that of Gandhāra, that the latter came into existence after the middle of the 1st century A.D., while it had its flourishing period from the end of the 2nd century A.D. till the beginning of the 4th century [35]). He denies that the Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī casket was dedicated by Kaniṣka and ascribes it to the 3rd century A.D. The Bīmarān reliquary would, according to him, also be centuries later than hitherto assumed. In some respects his opinions strongly resemble those of VINCENT SMITH

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28) L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen, Ursprung und Formen der Buddhagestalt,* Stuttgart 1925.

29) L. SCHERMAN, *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst,* Band V, 1928, Heft 3, pp. 64-80 and Band VI, 1929, Heft 2, pp. 147-166. *Der älteste National-indische Buddha-typ, Pantheon, Monatschrift für Freunde und Sammler der Kunst,* Jrg. 1928, Heft III, München 1928, pp. 147-150, esp. p. 150. Recently again in *F. W. Thomas Volume,* 1939, p. 242, and in *Professor Jean Philippe Vogel zum Gedächtnis, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* vol. 8, 1944, pp. 227-234.

30) R. GROUSSET, *Les civilisations de l'Orient,* tome II: *L'Inde,* Paris 1930.

31) See preceding page notes 24 and 25.

32) G. N. BANERJEE, *Hellenism in Ancient India,* p. 147.

33) E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan,* Leipzig 1925, p. 15.

34) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* London 1927, p. 52, German edition, p. 58; henceforth abbreviated as *H.I.I.A.*

35) B. ROWLAND JR., *A revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture, The Art Bulletin.* vol. 18, Chicago 1936, pp. 387-400.

and FOUCHER [36]), e.g. as regards the import of craftsmen from the Roman empire: "Considered as a part of the stylistic development of the Late Antique world, there is every reason to suppose that the great majority of these so-called Graeco-Buddhist carvings are the result of a sudden and intensive mass production that began no earlier than the second century A.D. and was almost entirely the work of artisans imported from the Roman East." [37])

In 1945 BUCHTHAL came forward with a date based, just like that of ROWLAND, on stylistic comparisons with the art of the Roman Imperium. According to him the art of Gandhāra lasts from the 2nd to the 5th century A.D. [38]).

Finally in 1946 GHIRSHMAN proposed a very short period: beginning in the 1st century A.D., apex in the second half of the 2nd century followed by stabilization and finally decay in the second half of the 3rd century [39]).

Summarizing we thus see that several of the older archaeologists placed the florescence of North-West Indian art before the end of the 2nd century A.D. on account of the influence which this art has had on that of Amarāvatī and at the same time during Kaniṣka's reign, probably because of the tradition that this monarch had greatly promoted the fine arts. After the discovery of the

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36) A. FOUCHER, *L'art bouddhique dans l'Inde d'après un livre récent, Annales du Musée Guimet: Revue de l'histoire des religions,* année 15, tome XXX, Paris 1894, p. 365. Afterwards FOUCHER has partly recanted this theory in *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 527.

37) B. ROWLAND JR., *Gandhāra and Late Antique Art: The Buddha Image. Supplement to the American Journal of Archaeology,* vol. XLVI, 1942, pp. 223-236, esp. p. 224; henceforth abbreviated as *A.J.A.* Further by this author: *Gandhāra and early Christian Art: Buddha Palliatus, A.J.A.,* vol. XLIX, 1945, pp. 445-448.

38) H. BUCHTHAL, *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture, Proceedings of the British Academy,* vol. XXXI, London 1945, p. 16. By the same author: *The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture, Transactions of the Ceramic Society,* vol. XIX, 1942-'43, London 1945; *The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art. J.R.A.S.*, 1943, pp. 137-148; *The Haughton Collection of Gandhāra Sculpture. The Burlington Magazine,* vol. 86, 1945, pp. 66-73.

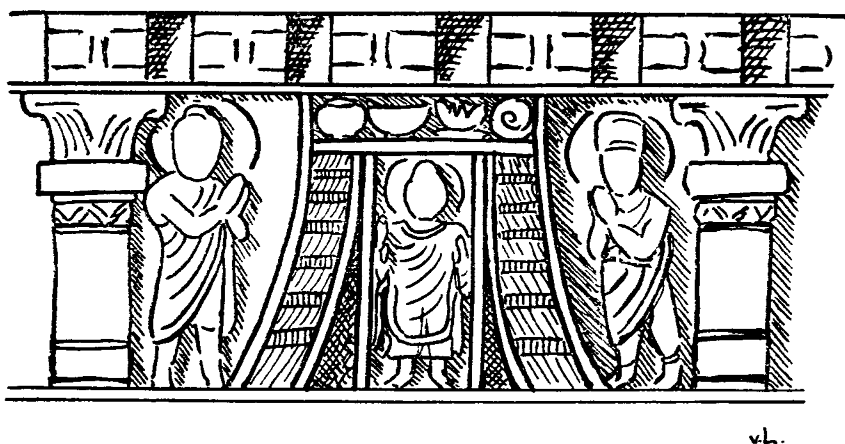
39) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* pp. 153-154.

reliquary of this monarch FOUCHER changed his opinion and most other archaeologists with him [40]).

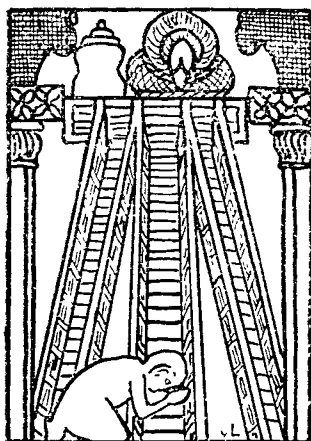
It is of no advantage to plunge into the discussion which has been going on for years already, and which flares up with new vehemence again and again, as to whether the origin of Gandhāra art is due to Greek, Hellenistic or Roman influences. The enormous amount of literature devoted to this subject almost completely emanated from authors who are originally classical archaeologists. This is very comprehensible. It is always interesting to trace the influences exercised by the domain of one's own study on neighbouring countries. In the same way indianists are always very much interested in the influence of India on South-East Asia and Central Asia. The danger connected with this, however, is that one begins to see "à tort et à travers" influences that either do not exist at all or in a slighter degree. This is certainly the case with a great part of the literature dealing with the art of North-West India [41]).

But although opinions differ about the influences that have asserted themselves from the West on the art of North-West India, in our opinion it is beyond dispute that the ideas in this art very often originate from native Indian art as we know it from former stages at Bharhut and Sanchi. We are not always able to trace this, as the material for comparison is often lacking in either the one or the other. In Gandhāra the Indian idea often was given a Hellenistic appearance, but there are also several examples in which not only the idea, but design and working-out as well of a certain religious scene were simply copied from ancient national art. As an example we would like to advance e.g. the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven (see textfig. 1). Here the whole design of the scene has been directly copied from Indian art, for it appears from examples of the older art of India in which the Buddha is not yet represented (see textfig. 2), that this design

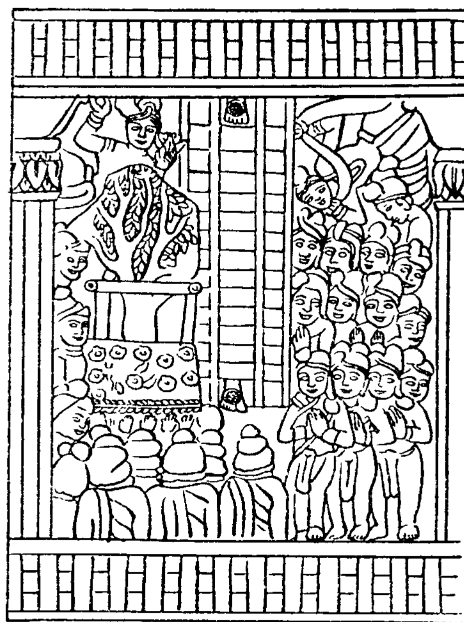
40) See further for a quotation of FOUCHER on the casket of this king, p. 99.
41) For a striking example see the articles by BUCHTHAL cited in note 38, p. 79.



Textfig. 1. Relief on the stūpa-drum of Dhruv Ṭīlā representing the descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven, copied from an example from Gandhāra



Textfig. 2. Relief in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā representing the descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven (from a photograph by J. J. BOELES)



Textfig. 3. Relief on the railing of Bharhut representing the descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven (*O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. XVI)

existed already for a long time [42]). In Gandhāra we see in the centre "en face" the triple ladder; on the middle one the Buddha is standing; at his right and left the gods Brahmā and Indra; sometimes a large number of gods are represented on both sides [43]), but this was not a new idea either, for these were also often represented in this scene in the older Indian art (see textfig. 3). If the North-West Indian sculptor had possessed some originality and had *wanted* to give a representation of his own, then he could without difficulty have rendered the same scene in a somewhat different manner, e.g. by giving a side view of the ladders leaning aslant which would even have rendered the design more clear. Another instance showing that ancient Indian art forms the base of North-West Indian art is the representation of the visit of Indra to Buddha [44]) (see fig. 3, 9, 35, and textfig. 7 on p. 109).

We can therefore take for granted that the influence from India on Gandhāra has been considerably greater than was generally assumed up till now. The western influence, on the other hand, has probably been much less, especially in the later centuries A.D., than is generally supposed. During the golden age of Gandhāra there is little to be discovered of *direct* western influence, and what reminds one of western art are for the greater part elements from the real period of influence. This period probably nearly coincides with the Parthian domination of North-West India, and includes part of the 1st century A.D., when the mastery had already passed from the Parthians to the Scythians. These Parthian monarchs probably copied and imported much from the Hellenistic West,

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42) At Bharhut: A. CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bharhut,* London 1879, pl. XVII; S. KRAMRISCH, *Indian Sculpture, The Heritage of India Series,* London 1933, pl. V, fig. 22. At Sanchi: F. C. MAISEY, *Sānchi, and its remains,* London 1892, pict. XI; J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sanchi,* Calcutta 1918, p. 56, 3rd ed. p. 61.

43) C. L. FABRI, *A Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture representing the Buddha's Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, Acta Or.,* vol. VIII, 1930, pp. 288-293. Further A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.,* vol. I, fig. 265 on p. 539.

44) See further pp. 108-109. T. BLOCH already pointed out the Indian influence in this scene in: *The Buddha worshipped by Indra: a favourite subject of Ancient Indian Art, Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Jan.-Dec. 1898, Calcutta 1899, pp. 186-189.

following the example of the kings of Parthia, the Arsacids. Unfortunately we know rather little of the art of the Arsacids [45]), but they undoubtedly felt strongly attracted to Hellenism [46]), judging "inter alia", from the fact that on their coins which are of a Grecian type, they carried the epitheton φιλέλλην [47]). Another fact which points in that direction is, that Greek was the official language in the realm of the Arsacids [48]), and several Greek inscriptions of these monarchs have been found. Consequently it is quite possible that most objects in India, so strongly resembling those found at Alexandria and other Hellenistic towns about the same time [49]), were imported by these Parthian monarchs into India, via the realm of the Arsacids, or by sea-route, or else copied on the spot [50]). The possibility that this import had already begun under the predecessors of the Parthian rulers, the Indo-Bactrian kings, must not be excluded.

The famous and amply discussed casket of Bīmarān (see fig. 1) has nearly always been ascribed up till now to the period of the Parthian domination. On its sides under ogives, between which

45) C. HUART, *La Perse antique et la civilisation iranienne, L'évolution de l'humanité,* Paris 1925, pp. 143-146.

46) W. M. MAC GOVERN, *The early Empires of Central Asia. A Study of the Scythians and the Huns and the part they played in world history.* Chapel Hill 1939, p. 73.

47) In the long run this surname became stereotyped and had no longer a literal meaning. ERNST HERZFELD says: " "Griechenfreund" ... ein Beiwort das die hellenistische Zeit lang überlebt, bezieht sich wohl immer auf das Verhältnis zu den griechischen Städten mit Selbstverwaltung. Auf den Westen bezogen würde es eher μισορωμαιος bedeuten, was man nicht gut auf Münzen setzen konnte", *Sakastān, Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran,* Band IV, Berlin 1932, p. 48; henceforth abbreviated as *Arch. Mitt. Iran.*

48) A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides,* Copenhague 1944, p. 49; C. HUART, *La Perse Antique et la civilisation iranienne,* p. 144.

49) We have in mind objects like those found by Sir JOHN MARSHALL at Taxila reproduced for instance in his *Guide to Taxila,* 3rd ed., Delhi 1936, pl. 1, and *Excavations at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R,* 1912-'13, pp. 1-52, pl. XX and XXIII, fig. a; *Excavation at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1928-'29, pl. XIX, fig. 1; pl. XX, figs. 10 and 11.

50) See also L. BACHHOFER, *On Greeks and Śakas in India, J.A.O.S.,* vol. 61, 1941, pp. 223-250.

eagles are hovering, figures are seen, one of which is a Buddha figure. The attitude of the body is jaunty, his right hand is lifted in abhayamudrā in front of the chest, and on his head he wears an uṣṇīṣa. Further the moustache is remarkable. Figures are standing at his right and left side, each one under an ogive of its own, turned towards the Buddha, obviously in an attitude of worship. BACHHOFER calls the figure on the right a lay-brother [51]), CODRINGTON inclines to the idea of a Brahmin ascetic on the left and a prince on the right [52]). The aureole behind the head of both secondary figures, however, does characterize them as divine figures. Furthermore the figures differ from each other by the fact that the one on the right is wearing a turban and is completely draped in a robe, the one on the left, on the other hand, is bareheaded, wears his hair in the ascetic's knot and has a beard. The upper part of the body is partly naked, and in his left hand he is carrying a small jar. This figure undoubtedly represents Brahmā, while the other figure is Indra or Śakra, the two most important gods of Hinduism, who, as we will see further on, are often reproduced on either side of the Master. The most current date for the reliquary was about the year 50 B.C., as some coins of Azes were lying with the reliquary when it was discovered, so scholars were convinced that the casket consequently originated from Azes' reign, and therefore from the Parthian period.

Against this conception however, some very serious objections can be made. In the first place the pilasters on the sides, bearing a row of ogives, show a shape that is not very old. Not only are they flat but moreover a little oblong is cut out on the surface of the column, which does not appear on pilasters at the beginning

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51) L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik, Zeitschrift für Buddhismus,* VI Jahrgang, 1924-'25, Neue Folge, III Jahrgang, München 1925, pp. 4-29, esp. p. 26. Also issued separately, in which edition p. 25. Henceforth we will give the numbers of the pages in the separate edition; in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus,* vol. VI, it will be the same page plus one.

52) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *Ancient India,* p. 52.

of Gandhāra art but somewhat later [53]). The oldest sculptures, as far as we can check them, do not show this oblong. Furthermore we observe that the design on the casket, viz. a row of ogives, supported by pilasters, strongly reminds us of the decoration shown on several stūpas, "inter alia" the stūpa of Shevaki at Kābul, ascribed by BACHHOFER to the 3rd century A.D. and which in our opinion originates in any case from the Kuṣāṇa time [54]). A similar row of ogives was unusual in the early art of North-West India. The oldest period had only the round, high and slender Corinthian pilasters, forming the separation between the different reliefs in a row, and they were moreover often placed in a separate rectangular partition. Round Corinthian pilasters do occur now and then in later times, but then they are mostly short, thick and tapering.

A most remarkable monument has been found at Sirkap, the town in Taxila, which, judging "inter alia" by the coins discovered there was deserted after the reign of Kujūla Kadphises [55]). MARSHALL calls it: "The shrine of the double-headed eagle." [56]) Here we find a stūpa placed on a plinth and decorated with some Corinthian pilasters, two of which are round and four flat, "nota bene" without the little oblong. The monument possibly has been built in the transition-period from the round to the flat pillar. At any rate it dates from early North-West Indian art. When the

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53) For instance in the relief fig. 234 on p. 465 in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, the architectural details of which point to a date in the flourishing period of Gandhāra art, further fig. 346 on p. 87 in *A.G.B.*, vol. II, which is also of a later date on account of the draping of the Buddha's robe, the way in which his hair is represented and the attitude of his hands, see for more details pp. 124 seq. Lastly our fig. 12, for discussion see pp. 114 seq. CODRINGTON believes that this oblong "is traceable only in post-Kushan Mathurā sculpture" which therefore would lead to a late date for the casket, *Ancient India,* p. 52; ROWLAND too ascribed the reliquary to the 3rd century: *A revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture, The Art Bulletin.* vol. XVIII, 1936, pp. 387-400, esp. p. 399. In our opinion the rule is: The shorter and the more tapering the pilaster (and in consequence the shorter the oblong), the later the relief.

54) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, München 1929, pl. 159, fig. 1.

55) For details see Ch. VII, pp. 374-376.

56) J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila,* 3rd ed., pl. XIII, p. 88.

town was deserted the stūpa was in excellent condition, evidently not having been built so long ago. But suppose the monument existed for a long time already, e.g. 50 years, even then the reliquary would date only from about the beginning of our era. A second reason for assuming that the monument belongs to the 1st century of our era, is the fact that one out of the four birds, which have been pictured on the plinth, is very distinctly a double-headed eagle, which unfortunately can no longer be seen in the other three. According to Sir JOHN MARSHALL, this motive decidedly points to Scythian influence. As it was such a specific Scythian motif it is very difficult to assume that the Parthian monarchs would have made use of it, and thus this double-headed eagle might also point to the fact that the stūpa was built in the 1st century A.D., probably during the reign of Kujūla Kadphises. Comparing the pilasters on the plinth of this stūpa and those on the reliquary of Bīmarān, we have to conclude that the reliquary must be dated later, as the latter shows no round pilasters, and on account of the fact that we see the well-known oblong "en repoussé" on the body of the flat pilasters.

We can, therefore, assume that the reliquary dates from the 1st century A.D. at the earliest, but possibly from some time afterwards, as it is not probable that the great emperor Kaniṣka had ordered a reliquary to be made which was far less beautiful in all respects (see fig. 2). Undoubtedly he commissioned the best artist of his time. But in spite of this, Agesilaos' work cannot vie with that of Bīmarān. Moreover, all caskets remaining from the time *before* Kaniṣka are simple pyxeis or small, round, flat boxes. Even princes like Viyakamitra during the reign of King Menander had very simple reliquaries made [57]). Not one piece from early times, which can be compared in any respect with that of Bīmarān, has been found. On the other hand the superfluous settings with precious stones remind one rather of the barbaric art of the Śakas of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, who used much gold and precious stones in their jewellery, judging by their Bodhisattva images, who imitating

57) N. G. MAJUMDAR, *The Bajaur casket of the reign of Menander, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 24, 1937, pp. 1-8.

the Scythian kings wore countless ornaments and precious stones. The design of the eagle between the ogives, as already mentioned above, can also hint to Scythian influence. Finally we should like to add one more argument: Should the Bīmarān reliquary indeed date from the year 50 B.C., then it is at least strange that during the following century till halfway the 1st century A.D. not a single Buddha image has been found. At Sirkap, which was deserted in favour of Sirsukh and which was still inhabited during the reign of Kujūla Kadphises, as appears from the discovered coins, not a single Buddha image or even a fragment of one has been found. CODRINGTON feels this difficulty, as he says: "The problem of Sirkap, where no coins later than Wema Kadphises have been found, is very great." [58]) But he goes no further than stating the problem. As appears from the above mentioned facts, a revision of the opinion current up till now is necessary. The only arguments, which have been put forward in favour of the early dating of the casket about the year 50 B.C., are first, the discovery of a deposit with the reliquary consisting of four copper coins of Azes, furthermore, the good style of the casket, and finally, the palaeography of the inscription on the steatite vase in which the casket was found. Particularly the first argument has been stressed over and over again. Lastly, once more by R. LE MAY [59]), who dates it somewhat later than is usually done, namely in the 1st century A.D.

In our opinion a find of coins may be used as a criterion for a date only then, when it concerns a coin which apparently was lost by chance at a time when it was still current. Similar discoveries of coins can be used for calculations concerning the date of the stratum in which the coins are found, but it must be remembered that in India coins remained in circulation a very long time. When however, a coin is found, which was apparently meant as a deposit, the situation is quite different. The only conclusion to be drawn in that case is that the reliquary cannot be older than the coin. That it is contemporary with the coins found near it, even if all of them

58) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *Ancient India*, p. 42.

59) R. LE MAY, *The Bimaran Casket. The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 82, London, May 1943, pp. 116-123.

are of one monarch and not very much worn down, would be, however, a premature conclusion [60]). Besides, something special, something precious is given as a deposit and certainly *not* something common. The objection might be made, of course, that in those times coins were something precious, but undoubtedly even gold coins were not so valuable compared with the burden of the costs, which the pious layman had to bear for having the brilliant reliquary made, apart from the question, whether he had the stūpa beautified as well, or even built. It is very improbable therefore, that a *current* copper coin, which must have had a rather small value for the donor, was given as a deposit. On the other hand—according to the deposits found—an old coin is considered to be very precious, not because of its value in metal, but for the remarkability of its age. This is proved by hoards consisting of coins of very different dates. In 1879 SIMPSON found a hoard of coins in the stūpa of Ahin Posh which contained "inter alia" coins of Wima Kadphises (about the middle of the 1st century A.D.) and a slightly worn-down coin of Julia Sabina [61]). Suppose that this last coin had been current during 20 years before it reached India and was deposited, and that that coin was struck immediately after Hadrianus' wedding in 128, then it might only have been deposited in 128 + 20 = 148 A.D. at the earliest. The difference between the time of the depositing and the date of the coins of Wima Kadphises, is therefore about a century, but perhaps even more. This most clearly proves that old coins were used as a deposit. A still stronger argument is the deposit found in stūpa I at Lālchak. CODRINGTON says about it: "A pit sunk into the rubble core brought to light large numbers of coins, including those of Antialkidas"

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60) L. BACHHOFER builds his hypotheses on this uncertain base, see: *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik,* separate edition, pp. 8-18, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pp. 75-79. An example of his method can also be found on p. 88 of *Die frühindische Plastik,* where he deducts from the fact that a coin of Wima Kadphises was found underneath the Buddha image of Chārsadda, that this image, therefore, dates from about 50-78 A.D. See for our opinion also Ch. VII, p. 375.

61) Lecture by Dr. HOERNLE on the gold coins found by W. SIMPSON in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jalālābād, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1878, pp. 122-138, esp. pl. II and III.

(about 130 B.C.), "Kadphises II, Indo-Sassanian kings and Samanta Deva" (about 950 A.D.) [62]).

So to us it seems "a priori" incorrect to use a coin from a deposit as a basis for dating, as has been done up till now, and therefore, in our opinion, we can only say in this case that the reliquary of Bīmarān has been made after Azes.

The second argument in favour of the early date for the casket was its good style. This brings us to the second maxim, always applied when judging North-West Indian art, which, in our opinion, is incorrect as well. It was FOUCHER who emphasized this maxim mostly, but before and after him it was always repeated that "the better the style, the earlier the date", and even COOMARASWAMY, whose views often differ from the general opinion, endorses it [63]). In itself this maxim is very dangerous, as a strongly subjective valuation will influence the judgement of "good" and "bad". For: what is "good" and what is "bad"? This entirely depends on the applied standard. To all archaeologists of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this one "good" implied all that, in which much of the beloved and adored Greek art was found, and this still applies to many archaeologists of to-day. The Greek ideal of beauty has during some time fascinated the minds of scholars to such an extent that they were of the opinion that this surely brilliant period of the world's history of art was so far above all other art that an ideal of beauty from any other period could scarcely be compared to or much less compete with it. Hence some scholars even went so far that they could only appreciate that kind of art showing western influences, whilst they disapproved of all other art. Some of them, like VINCENT SMITH, went even further, as they could no longer appreciate the art influenced by the West,

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62) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *Ancient India*, p. 49. The explanation Sir JOHN MARSHALL wishes to give for this fact, viz. that "the debris used to raise this mound was carted from one of the earlier sites where early coins would be plentiful", seems to us too far-fetched.

63) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Origin of the Buddha Image, The Art Bulletin,* vol. IX, no. 4, New York 1927, p. 33; henceforth abbreviated as *Origin Buddha Image.*

which they considered inferior by far to that all-surpassing classic art from old Hellas:

"The Gāndhāra or Peshāwar sculptures ... are only echoes of the second rate Roman art of the third and fourth centuries ... in the expression of human passions and emotions Indian art has completely failed, except during the time when it was held in Graeco-Roman leading strings, and it has scarcely at any time essayed an attempt to give visible form to any divine ideal." [64]) We cannot digress any further on the question of the philhellenism of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this century, as we would wander too much from our subject.

The appreciation of art as being "good" or "bad" is very subjective, and in itself this reason makes the maxim "the better, the older" very dangerous. But apart from that it seems to us that the matter has other aspects.

If the art of Gandhāra was a fragment of Hellenistic art suddenly removed as a whole from the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin to Gandhāra, then indeed the maxim would hold good, as the oldest art-specimens would then be strongly Hellenistic, while a decrease of the Hellenistic element could be stated in the further course of development, a kind of dying down for lack of sufficient western influence, or an increasing domination of the native element, according to one's view. Indeed it is in this way that the process of development of the art of North-West India or even of the whole of India has been generally pictured. FERGUSSON says e.g.: "The history of Indian art is a history of decay." But North-West Indian art certainly is *not* a fragment of Hellenistic art suddenly removed from the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin to Gandhāra. This art with genuine Indian elements originated in a country where strong Hellenistic influences had been active during a number of years, and began to build up a life of its own on its fruitful native Indian soil, trying to assimilate foreign influences as well as possible. In the beginning this process went by fits and starts, so that brilliant results

64) V. SMITH, *Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India*, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. 58, part 1, 1889, p. 173.

were not immediately achieved, as can be understood. The two worlds that met here had slowly to assimilate each other, and only after years of efforts a harmonious whole could come into existence as we find in the best works of Gandhāra art, like the Buddha of Sikrī, the Bodhisattvas of Shāhbāz-Gaṛhī, Sahr-i-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bāhī and so many others [65]).

As we saw, the period of strong Hellenistic influence probably coincides with the domination by the Parthian monarchs. Their objects of art are for the greater part imported wares or copies of these, and therefore in this short period we can indeed speak of a fragment of Hellenistic art, removed from the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin. But soon after, in the Scythian period, the reaction of Indian art on this western influence presents itself, and the assimilation-process begins, that will usher in the rise of Gandhāra art.

FOUCHER denies this course of events with the following words: "Ce critérium de plus ou moins grand développement nous paraît en effet valable pour une école qui suit son évolution naturelle, mais non point pour un art plus qu'à demi importé et d'avance en pleine possession de sa technique. Nous persistons plutôt à penser qu'en thèse générale la plus brillante floraison du rameau hellénistique enté sur le vieux tronc indien dut se produire à l'origine, et qu'ensuite il ne put aller qu'en dépérissant. Toute tendence d'apparence archaïsante dans un bas-relief ou une statue gréco-bouddhique serait ainsi à nos yeux, au lieu d'une preuve d'antiquité, une marque de décadence par "ré-indianisation" croissante du motif ou du type." [66])

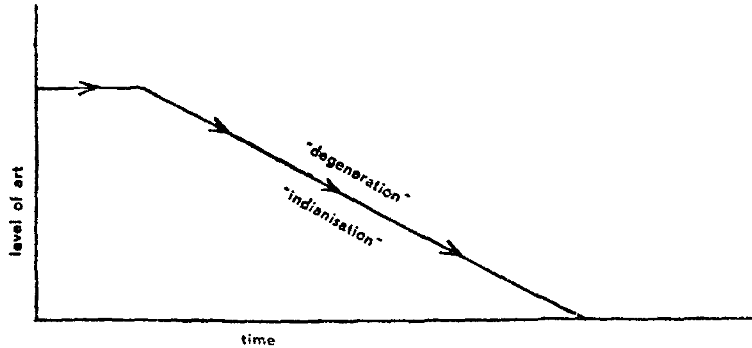
We do not see how FOUCHER can combine this line of thought with the fact that the beautiful, and not in the least archaic stucco plastic from the monastery of Mohṛā Morādu undoubtedly dates from the later part of Gandhāra art as he acknowledges himself.

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65) Reproduced in L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen*, pl. 6; A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, frontispiece; L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik*, fig. 9; L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 145 and 146.

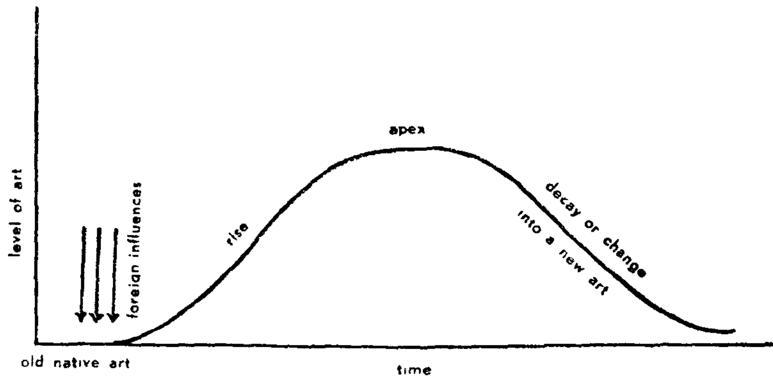
66) A. FOUCHER, *Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sikri (Gandhāra)*, *J.A.*, 10e série, tome II, 1903, pp. 185-330, esp. p. 320.

We should like to emphasize once more the difference between this scheme of development, which was customary up till now (see textfig. 4) and that which we offer. In our opinion, there is a short period of strong Hellenistic influences, resulting in the origin



Textfig. 4. Graph showing the course of North-West Indian art according to FOUCHER and others.

of a thoroughly new art, showing the normal stages of rise, florescence and decay, or a change into a new art (see textfig. 5). Of course this does not exclude the fact that the art of Gandhāra



Textfig. 5. Graph showing the course of North-West Indian art according to us

did receive influences from surrounding countries in later times as well, as almost every art is open to influences from abroad. However, these could not in the case of Gandhāra change the trend North-West Indian art had taken. These later influences were assimilated into the "own" art just as is done by every healthy art

which encounters foreign influences, and incorporates only those elements which it understands and can assimilate into its gamma of motifs and forms of expression. We think this presentation of the evolution of the art of North-West India is something quite different from the process of a suddenly removed fragment of a flourishing period with the following slow decay, as nearly all archaeologists have suggested (see textfig. 4). CUNNINGHAM for instance says:

"It is a fact, which receives fresh proofs every day, that the art of sculpture, or certainly of good sculpture, appeared suddenly in India at the very time that the Greeks were masters of the Kābul valley, that it retained its superiority during the period of the Greek and half-Greek rule of the Indo-Scythians, and that it deteriorated more and more the further it receded from the Greek age, until its degradation culminated in the wooden inanities and bestial obscenities of the Brahmanical temples." [67])

The maxim "the better (that is to say the more beautiful), the older", does not hold good in our opinion, the more so as in the flourishing period of Gandhāra art sculptures have been made, which, according to the taste of the philhellenians, decidedly ought to be called very good. According to their maxim these would have to be very early ones, which however, is not the case.

Moreover, with regard to the Buddha figure on the reliquary of Bīmarān, it is also generally pointed out that the action, shown by the figure, should indicate western influence. As an argument against this view we should like only to refer to the action shown by a rather late piece of art viz. the striding Buddha found by BARTHOUX at Haḍḍa [68]). Good style therefore cannot serve as an argument in favour of the antiquity of the Bīmarān casket.

Discussing the object in the *Burlington Magazine* LE MAY has added still another argument to the usual ones, which, according

67) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, p. 100.

68) Reproduced by J. HACKIN, *Les fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française à Haḍḍa (Afghanistan)*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* (henceforth abbreviated as *R.A.A.*), *vol. V, 1928*, pp. 66-76, pl. XXI, fig. 11. Also reproduced by PH. STERN, *L'art de l'Inde* in *Histoire universelle des arts des temps primitifs jusqu'à nos jours*, edited by LOUIS RÉAU, vol. IV, book II, fig. 93 on p. 133.

to him, is the strongest of all, viz. that, according to KONOW and THOMAS, the Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the steatite vase, in which the golden reliquary was found, points to an early date. Now KONOW says that the palaeography is older than that of the Taxila scroll and the inscriptions of Takht-i-Bāhī and Pājā and about contemporary with that of the Lion Capital [69]. In a letter to LE MAY, THOMAS informs him that in his opinion the script dates from about 50-70 A.D. [70]. When these two authorities give dates with a difference of 100 years, it is clear that the palaeography of the Kharoṣṭhī script is not a very safe guide in determining the age of the casket.

So the arguments in favour of the antiquity of the reliquary of Bīmarān, to wit: the coin-deposit, the good style, and the palaeography do not hold good, and the arguments in favour of a later date impel us to conclude that the casket probably was not made until Kaniṣka, and rather in the first half of the 1st century of his era than in the second half, judging by the moustache of the Buddha.

In 1927 COOMARASWAMY advanced some arguments by which he tried to prove that the Buddha image of Mathurā has at least equally as ancient rights as the image of Gandhāra. Although believing that the Mathurā Buddha was older, he could not prove this: "I am inclined to presume on general grounds a priority for Mathurā; but that is not evidence. All that we can assert is that the earliest Buddha types in each area are in the local style..." [71] COOMARASWAMY mentions six arguments, put forward by those who wish to ascribe an older date to the Buddha image of Gandhāra than to that of Mathurā, viz. the images of Loriyān Tāṅgai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Ḍherī, the reliquaries of Bīmarān and that of Kaniṣka, and, finally, a coin of Maues, on which a seated Buddha is said to be seen. Some of COOMARASWAMY's objections to these

69) *Corpus*, p. 51.

70) R. LE MAY, *The Bimaran Casket, The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 82, May 1943, p. 120.

71) *Origin Buddha Image*, p. 37; see also *The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image*, *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 46, 1926, pp. 165-170.

arguments are [72]), that the first three sculptures have been dated in a sofar unknown era; furthermore the casket of Bīmarān was found nearly a century ago and "methods of excavation nearly ninety years ago were not by any means as critical as they are now", while moreover "Wilson himself was of opinion that the stupas of Afghanistan "are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian era." " [73]).

It seems to us that indeed these are rather weak objections. Though the era is unknown, this is no argument against the opinion that the images do not date from the 1st century before or after the beginning of our era. Still weaker is the objection that methods of excavation a hundred years ago were less critical than they are now. It seems incorrect to us to assume beforehand that MASSON did not actually find the coins of Azes with the reliquary of Bīmarān. Finally the fact that WILSON himself was of opinion that all stūpas had to be dated after the beginning of our era, is of no value, for then scholars knew even less about the history of those times than we do now, and the most fantastic theories were launched. So we should like to attach little or no value to the scientific conclusions derived from certain discoveries at the time these were made, while the sober enumeration of what was discovered, and in which way, still keeps its value in our opinion. Therefore we would rather assume these last data to be certain in our argumentation, but we think we can advance the opinion that the discovery of coins of Azes in itself does not yet imply a possibility of assigning the reliquary to the reign of that monarch. So although COOMARASWAMY's counter-arguments were rather weak, he nevertheless was on the right way, perhaps, as was more often the case with him, more because of an instinctively correct feeling for several matters in Indian art than because of logical reasoning and argumentation.

Starting from the results achieved in Chapter One we can now ascertain that the three images with dated inscriptions actually originate from a much later time, as they have been dated in the old era, beginning in our opinion in the year 129 B.C. Therefore

72) *Origin Buddha Image,* p. 33.
73) H. H. WILSON, *Ariana antiqua,* London 1841, p. 322.

their date really is 129 B.C. + 318 = 189 A.D., 129 B.C. + 387 = 258 A.D. and 129 B.C. + 399 = 270 A.D. In the meantime more dated inscriptions have been discovered which now could be added here. The age of the casket of Bīmarān has already been amply discussed. The last argument, advanced by the supporters of the priority of the Buddha image from North-West India, was a coin of Maues, on which scholars thought a seated Buddha could be distinguished [74]). COOMARASWAMY already refuted this point in the article we cited before [75]), but TARN apparently overlooked this, for he makes the said coin the starting-point of a long argument in his book *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, in which he explains that in his opinion the image of the Buddha came into existence in Gandhāra in the beginning of the 1st century B.C. at the latest, and consequently existed for almost two centuries already, when at Mathurā people only began to represent the Master in stone [76]). In this connection the theory of GRÜNWEDEL and FOUCHER that the Buddha image goes back to the Apollo figure [77]) is revived:

"I am only concerned with chronology, and the long priority of the Gandhāra Buddha is now, I think, proved by a definite piece of evidence; but I should like to sketch what, in my opinion, must have been the course of events. The Greek, as we have seen, was becoming Indianised from about the beginning of the first century

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74) For instance: V. A. SMITH, *Numismatic Notes and Novelties, II: Ancient and Mediaeval India, J.A.S.B.*, vol. 66, part I, 1879, pp. 298-309, esp. p. 300; M. LONGWORTH DAMES, *Review of* R. B. WHITEHEAD's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I: Indo-Greek Coins, J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 791-795, esp. p. 793.

75) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Origin Buddha Image*, p. 16 and fig. 6. See also *Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Neue Folge, vol. IV, Berlin 1927-'28, pp. 175-188, esp. p. 185; henceforth abbreviated as *O.Z.*

76) TARN, pp. 399-408.

77) A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist Art in India*, Eng. ed. by J. BURGESS, London 1901, p. 164. A. FOUCHER, *L'origine grecque de l'Image du Bouddha, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl. de Vulgarisation*, tome XXXVIII, pp. 231-272, esp. p. 258; Eng. ed. in *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 128. See also L. BACHHOFER, *Plastik der Kushana, Pantheon*, Jrg. 1931, München, pp. 355-359 and 502-506, esp. p. 359.

B.C., and therewith was born the Gandhāra school, which *must* from its date be in the line of development of the Greeks who came to India from Bactria; the Indian Buddhist, influenced by Bhakti, wanted the story of the life and previous lives of Buddha cut in stone, and the Greek was now, as he might not have been in the time of Demetrius and Menander, ready to respond. The first Greek artist had to decide what to do with the perpetually recurring central figure. He may or may not have known, or cared, whether Gautama had been a man or god; being a Greek, he only knew one way of representing either, and therewith was born, in the mind of some unknown and obscure Greek sculptor, the idea of representing Buddha in human form. The Greek artists took their own Apollo type and Indianised it; the steps from the Greek Apollo to the Graeco-Indian Buddha have often been traced. But their Buddha went no deeper than their Apollo; he was just a beautiful man; you may search these suave faces in vain for what should have been there, the inner spirit of the great Reformer.

"So some Indians ultimately felt. It can only have been dissatisfaction with the established Gandhāra type of Buddha which first produced the Indian type at Mathurā. It was recognised that it was now far too late to represent Buddha in any way but as a man; but they wanted a Buddha of their own, not a Greek Apollo." [78])

"The Indian artists of Mathurā discarded the old rule of representing Buddha only by symbols, not because of Bhakti, but because for generations that rule had vanished from the Graeco-Buddhist art of the North-West and they could not fall behind; it was too late to do anything else." [79])

We will return to this matter concerning the priority of Gandhāra or Mathurā further on [80]). The starting-point of TARN's argumentation, the coin of Maues, is incorrect, as had been proved already by COOMARASWAMY and recently again was explained by BACHHOFER in a very convincing way [81]). The supposed Buddha

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78) TARN, pp. 404-405

79) TARN, p. 407.

80) See Ch. III, pp. 169-171.

81) L. BACHHOFER, *On Greeks and Śakas in India*, *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 61, 1941,

figure is nothing more than a seated monarch, a motif frequently occurring on the coins in the 1st century B.C. and A.D. both on the obverse and reverse of the coins [82]).

So the arguments of those scholars who insisted that the Buddha of Gandhāra was older than that of Mathurā, do no longer hold good. The oldest dated pieces of both areas now date resp. from the years 1 and 2 of the Kaniṣka era, and this makes so little difference that for the present we cannot yet decide as to which one has the priority [83]).

The oldest dated Buddha image in Gandhāra can be found on the reliquary of Kaniṣka (see fig. 2). This much discussed casket was discovered by SPOONER in 1909 during his excavation of the stūpa of Kaniṣka at Shah-jī-kī Ḍherī in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. It is made of gilded brass. On the side putti carry a garland. In between, several figures have been inserted: Buddhas with adorants, and also a figure, which is clearly meant to represent the Emperor Kaniṣka himself in his typical Scythian costume; to the right and to the left of him the personification of sun and moon. The upper border is decorated with flying ducks, a motif also popular in the ivories found by HACKIN in Afghānistān [84]). On the cover a Buddha is seated in abhayamudrā on a lotus, behind his head a large halo, adorned with flower petals. At his right Indra, at his left Brahmā, the hands in añjalı, wrongly described as two disciples by DAHLMANN [85]), and as two Bodhisattvas by

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pp. 223-250, esp. pp. 229-230. We had the opportunity to check this opinion of COOMARASWAMY and BACHHOFER on observation of the coins in the Cabinet de Médailles at Paris, and it seems absolutely right. WHITEHEAD is of the same opinion: *Notes on the Indo-Greek, Num. Chron.*, 5th series, vol. XX, 1940, pp. 89-122, esp. pp. 114-115.

82) TARN argued that had the figure on Maues' coin been a seated king then it ought to have been on the obverse, this being in his opinion the king's place on a coin, p. 402.

83) See further, Ch. III, pp. 169-171.

84) J. HACKIN, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan,* tome IX, Paris 1939, fig. 205, etc.

85) J. DAHLMANN, *Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum fernen Osten im Licht der indischen Altertumskunde,* Freiburg i. Breisgau 1912, p. 105.

COOMARASWAMY [86]). The head-dress of the figure at the right of the Buddha, however, clearly indicates this person as Indra.

Now the remarkable thing is, that all scholars who have occupied themselves with the casket, as VOGEL, SPOONER, FOUCHER and MARSHALL, have dated it at the end of the development of North-West Indian art, because in their opinion it looked so degenerated:

"...... les Buddhas figurés sur ce reliquaire sont tristement éloignés des origines hellénistiques du type. Dès lors la démonstration en est faite: la constitution de l'école gréco-bouddhique est sensiblement antérieure à Kaniṣka ..." [87]).

Certainly everybody will agree that the casket does not belong to the flourishing period, but then to speak of degeneration and decay is rather dangerous, and it does not seem justified to build up a scheme of development for Gandhāra art on emotional arguments. The only thing we may generally state is whether or not a piece belongs to a flourishing period, and in the latter case the piece can then be dated before or after the flourishing period, i.e. during the rise or the decay. In the same way we have to proceed when dealing with the reliquary of Kaniṣka. Everyone agrees that it is clumsy, consequently it may originate from the rise or the decay. Had the casket been made in the last days of Gandhāra art, then the many beautiful pieces from North-West India consequently should have to be dated before Kaniṣka. Now this is impossible. In the first place we have seen that no single proof can be advanced for the existence of Buddha images before Kaniṣka. Furthermore MARSHALL did not find one Buddha image or even a fragment of one during his excavations at Sirkap, which, according to coins and other things discovered there, appears to have been abandoned only after Kujūla Kadphises. Our conclusion therefore must be that the first Buddha images could have been made at the earliest only during Wima Kadphises' reign. Consequently Kaniṣka's reliquary must be dated at the beginning of Gandhāra art. Some strong arguments in favour of this can moreover be found in

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86) COOMARASWAMY, *H.I.I.A.*, p. 54.
87) FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 442.

the plastic qualities and the style of the casket. In the first place it shows a rather strong Hellenistic influence in the motif of the putti or garland-bearers and the frieze of the flying ducks. Such Hellenistic decoration-elements rather belong to Indo-Bactrian and Parthian times and occur far more sporadically in later real Gandhāra art. They are, as it were, remnants of the import-art, which caused the art of Gandhāra to come into existence. Furthermore the way in which the Buddha's hair has been brushed sleekly backwards points to an early representation of the Buddha. For the figures on the reliefs of the stūpa of Sikrī, which belong to the earliest specimens we possess of Gandhāra art, as we will see later on, show the same treatment of the hair. Then the aureoles of the secondary figures, Brahmā and Indra, as well as those of the figures on the sides are small, and a tiny engraved line runs along the circumference of the disk, as was rather customary in early times. The nimbus behind the Buddha's head is decorated with an opened flower, most likely a lotus; this specialty is not found in other North-West Indian art, but it occurs rather often in native Indian art [88]). Furthermore there is the almost square piece of the monk's robe with the indication of pleats in the form of parallel engravings, which falls over the crossed legs. In later times the sculptor or modeller uses this very piece of material as an occasion to show his skill in representing jaunty pleats. In the very last period of Gandhāra art, just before its decay, the piece of material in question becomes conventional again and loses its grace [89]), but this cannot be a reason for us to conclude that the reliquary of Kaniṣka originates from the 5th century A.D. We also find this treatment of the pleats in the small Buddha figures on the reliefs of Sikrī, which is another argument in favour of dating the reliquary in the beginning of Gandhāra art. As a last argument in favour of the early date of the casket, we finally put forward the fact that the small Buddha figures are wrapped up entirely in their

88) See Ch. III, pp. 216-217.

89) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, The Stupas and Monasteries at Jauliāñ, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,* N° 7, Calcutta 1921, pl. V, a and XII, c; henceforth abbreviated as *M.A.S.I.*

monk's robes, even the sleeves are rolled tightly around their hands. This early aspect also occurs on the reliefs of Sikrī.

So we see that the reliquary of Kaniṣka not only shows the oldest dated Buddha image, but moreover should be placed in the period of the beginning of North-West Indian art. Here we have a starting-point, from which we will proceed to follow and describe the development of that art, but before doing so we will first of all expound BACHHOFER's opinion.

Although an enormous quantity has been written about Gandhāra art, ever since the first moment scientists started to occupy themselves with this kind of art, the first serious endeavour to classify the available material in a chronological and stylistical sequence was not made until 1925, viz. by BACHHOFER[90]). A general view of his conception gives us the following: In the beginning of North-West Indian art the reliquary of Bīmarān was made, which is dated about the year 50 B.C. [91]), on account of the deposit of coins of Azes, while the casket of Kaniṣka belongs to the final period of this art, owing to, in his opinion, signs of decay.

Besides we have some specimens of Gandhāra art, showing a date in an unknown era, which BACHHOFER—in agreement with VOGEL—takes to be the Seleucidian era. These dates viz. Loriyān Tāṅgai 318, Hashtnagar 384 and Skārah Ḍherī 399 therefore correspond to resp. A.D. 6, 72 and 87. Of these pieces the first one is excellent (see fig. 10) and consequently represents the flourishing period, while the latter (see fig. 19), according to the extremely bad execution, is obviously a product from the time of decay. The robe in the piece dating from 72 A.D. (see fig. 11) is still treated as something substantial, but nevertheless the body begins to show through, while the pleating becomes more stereotyped. On the whole the sculpture from the third part of the 1st

90) Namely in his *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik*. This was reprinted in his *Die frühindische Plastik*, München 1929, pp. 74-88. The text was somewhat rearranged but the ideas remained the same.

91) In his article *On Greeks and Śakas in India*, *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 61, 1941, pp. 223-250, esp. pp. 228-229. BACHHOFER now changes this date to "first decennia of the 1st century A.D." on the ground of his opinion that the coins would be of Azes II.

century A.D. shows a mannerism in the conventional treatment, which announces decay [92]). The period is then closed by the reliquary of Kaniṣka. According to BACHHOFER this can be ascribed to about the year 90 A.D. at the earliest, as it is impossible to date it earlier, that is to say nearer to the still rather well-executed sculpture of Hashtnagar from the year 72 A.D. After this a period of rough, boorish art follows in the 2nd century, of which the reliefs of the Dharmarājikā stūpa at Taxila (see figs. 5 and 6) and those of stūpa R 4 from the end of the 2nd century are examples. Then a new revival follows in the 3rd century, which BACHHOFER wants to be considered as a kind of renaissance after the Kuṣāṇa period, as in this time one is strongly reminded of the good art from the 1st century A.D., e.g. the stucco images in the chapels N 18 (see fig. 20) and N 16 at Taxila. The end of this art is then found in the stucco reliefs, discovered by MARSHALL in the monasteries of Mohṛā Morādu (see fig. 21) and Jauliāñ at Taxila, dated by BACHHOFER in the 3rd and 4th century [93]). So, in short, BACHHOFER's scheme of development of Gandhāra art comes to this:

Rise in the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. during the reign of Azes; golden age about the beginning of our era and 1st half of the 1st century A.D.; decay 2nd century A.D.; rise of the renaissance: beginning of the 3rd century; new flourishing in the middle of the 3rd century; definite decay at the end of the 4th century.

Such a double flourishing, which also in BACHHOFER's eyes is a "rätselhafte Renaissance" [94]), is, "a priori", not impossible, though

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92) L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik,* p. 26. This group of images, which he dates in the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D. in *Die frühindische Plastik,* vol. II, pl. 145 and 146, is now ascribed by him to 1st half of the 2nd century A.D., as appears from his *On Greeks and Śakas in India, J.A.O.S.*, vol. 61, 1941, pp. 223 seq. The reason for this change is the fact that he now identifies the coins which accompanied the reliquary of Bīmarān as of Azes II instead of Azes I. Consequently the whole chronology becomes somewhat later.

93) L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik,* pp. 18-20. Sir JOHN MARSHALL dates these monasteries in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., *A Guide to Taxila,* 3rd ed., pp. 125, 130.

94) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* p. 93.

not very probable, but conclusive arguments can be advanced against it in this case, for it is not very acceptable that between these two flourishing periods sculptures could have been made, which have so few peculiarities left from the first flourishing period. The reliquary of Kaniṣka is an instance of this. This piece and the reliefs from building L at Taxila (see figs. 5 and 6) show a technical ability only just starting on a line of development. Besides it is generally assumed that those reliefs, which are more or less still in the stage in which the scene meant to be represented is indicated more precisely with symbols, belong to the beginning of the line of development, as this custom of using symbols originates from old native Indian art and does no longer occur so definitely in later sculptures. And now it happens that exactly one of those reliefs from building L is such a piece. Here we see the first preaching in the deer-park at Benares represented: the Buddha, seated on a platform under the Bodhi-tree, is turning a large dharmacakra with his right hand, which is placed before him on a little pillar with triratna-symbol, a deer on either side of this. This is obviously a remainder of the time in which only symbols were used and so the relief should undoubtedly be dated very near the beginning of Gandhāra art.

But this scheme of a golden age followed by a renaissance is not only incorrect because of the reasons just explained, but the two starting-points of BACHHOFER: the reliquaries of Bīmarān and Kaniṣka as landmarks at the beginning and the end of the flourishing period, admit of doubt. That the first casket was not made in the 1st century B.C. we have proved in detail before; that the latter cannot be judged by emotional arguments, like BACHHOFER does, following in the track of VOGEL, SPOONER and MARSHALL, we have also explained already. BACHHOFER himself points to the dangers of such emotional arguments with the words: "...mit den bisher üblichen Worten: gute Arbeit, schlechte Zeit, Stück der besten Zeit, gute hellenistische Tradition, ist gar nichts geholfen, solange alles schwankt und präzise Aussagen fehlen." [95])

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95) L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik*, p. 14.

Summarizing, we cannot share BACHHOFER's point of view that the reliquary of Kaniṣka originates from the end of the flourishing period, not to mention moreover the fact that he dates it in the year 90 A.D., as an earlier date does not fit into his stylistic scheme of development. We have argued in detail before, why the reliquary does not stand at the end but at the beginning of the development; and with regard to the date it is clear—now that KONOW has again explained in the *Corpus* [96]) his opinion about the reading of the year 1 on the reliquary—that the piece dates from the year 78/79 A.D. to which THOMAS, another first-class epigraphist, agrees [97]).

Between the two reliquaries BACHHOFER then inserts the three images with dated inscriptions resp. Loriyān Tāṅgai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Ḍherī. If we compare these sculptures from a style-critical point of view with those of which we know for certain that they originate from the beginning of Gandhāra art, like e.g. the sculptures from the stūpa of Sikrī and from building L at Taxila, then it is clear that the first two images have not been made until long after these reliefs. Not only the technique and the ability of the sculptors has considerably improved, but the various elements of decoration show a further degree of development as well, as for instance the pilaster, still round and slender at Sikrī, flat and broad on the relief of the basis of Loriyān Tāṅgai; and finally on that of Hashtnagar strongly tapering towards the upper end. Therefore our conclusion is, that the images from the so-called flourishing period of BACHHOFER have been made much later than the reliquary of Kaniṣka, and for the greater part must rightly be classified with those images, ascribed by BACHHOFER to a renaissance of Gandhāra art, because in many respects they strongly resembled the sculptures which he placed in his flourishing period of the 1st century A.D. The explanation of the resemblance between both groups is very simple now: it is one and the same group, to wit the golden age of Gandhāra art. BACHHOFER has

96) *Corpus*, pp. 135-137.
97) F. W. THOMAS, *Review of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Jrg. 193 1931, pp. 1-15, esp. p. 5.

probably also been deceived by the fact that the material of the objects under comparison was stone in one case and stucco in the other, which difference in material causes various effects, also on account of the fact that plaster is modelled more easily.

The fact that sculptures like those of Loriyān Tāṅgai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Ḍherī belong, style-critically speaking, to a much later period than the reliquary of Kaniṣka, makes it impossible in itself that the era, in which they are dated, is the Seleucidian era. For further objections to the Seleucidian era we moreover refer to Chapter One [98]). As the sculptures are undoubtedly dated in the old Scythian era they can moreover serve as landmarks in our following survey.

We have seen that during a rather limited period of either import or copies of Hellenistic ware, the native art is given an impulse leading to the first timid steps of Gandhāra art so famous later on. Rather soon the Buddha image presents itself in this art, but *not* yet during the reign of Kujūla Kadphises, as we saw above. Moreover we wonder whether these early Scythian monarchs had an art of their own or not. They were far too much occupied with warfare to have time for art. In the centuries before and after the beginning of our era North-West India was repeatedly harassed by invasions and this is by no means conducive to art. According to the discoveries at Sirkap it is very obvious that at that time Buddha images did not yet exist, as not one single image or even a fragment of one has been found. With the reliquary of Kaniṣka we have the first dated image of the Buddha, but of course it is possible that the custom of representing the Master had come into vogue some decennia before. During Kaniṣka's reign this custom then quickly increases, as also appears from the reproduction of the Buddha on a coin of Kaniṣka, indicated as such by the inscription in Greek characters of **BOΔΔO** (see textfig. 6).

The oldest type of the Buddha image seems always to have been represented with a moustache. All sculptures, of which for other reasons we can assume that they date from the beginning of Gan-

98) See Ch. I, pp. 19-22.

dhāra art (reliquary of Kaniṣka, stūpa of Sikrī and building L at Taxila) show Buddhas with moustaches. This does not exclude, however, that also in later times Buddhas with moustaches sometimes do occur, but in general the Master seems to be clean-shaven. Apart from that—and we should like to emphasize this here—it is very difficult to give a definite statement about the later images, as the possibility still remains that the moustaches were painted on the images afterwards. In our opinion, this has generally been taken too little into consideration [99]), viz., that the images, as we have then now, are no longer in their original state, and that it is consequently possible that several details only painted on, have been lost. Stucco heads "inter alia" found at Haḍḍa show moustache, eyebrows, eyes and ūrṇā painted on [100]). VON LE COQ found a Buddha head with a painted moustache in Central Asia [101]). So the only thing we can say is that on the early images the moustache was always represented in relief.



Textfig. 6. Coin of Kaniṣka (*Buddhastatuen*)

In general, one gets the impression that small reliefs were in

99) See e.g. E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. VI, Berlin 1930, pp. 265-277, who wants to distinguish two types on the ground of this "Typ des reifen Mannes" and "Jünglingstyp" or with other names a realistic or naturalistic and an idealized type, see pp. 268 *loc. cit.* WALDSCHMIDT copied these categories from A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 126-127. The idealized type should be older then, because of its greater resemblance to Greek art, which was built up again on the wrong premise: the more Grecian the more ancient. Most images classified by these two authors as belonging to this type, belong in our opinion (but on account of other reasons) to the flourishing period, while those which they count as belonging to the realistic type and consequently as of later date, are on the contrary for the greater part the earlier specimens.

100) See J. J. BARTHOUX, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, Figures et Figurines, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, tome III, Paris 1930, pl. 79, d.

101) A. VON LE COQ, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. I, *Die Plastik*, Berlin 1922, pl. 23, c.

vogue in the import-period, as we have several reliefs from that time which as far as concerns their style could have been imported directly from the Mediterranean area. We mention, for instance, the relief with the so-called river-gods [102]). Besides we possess some reliefs where laymen are often arranged in three or four couples [103]). As far as we can see no large detached images from this time exist. The artists restricted themselves to the smaller genre-pieces, like the tiny image of Harpocrates [104]). Now, as free sculpture was not executed very much yet in the short period during the reign of the Parthian monarchs, but on the contrary the small oblong relief apparently was used as decoration, it is obvious to assume that also at the beginning of Gandhāra art this kind of plastic was rather common, while the detached image had not yet reached that popularity, which it would enjoy in later centuries [105]). Actually we have not found detached Buddhas up till now, corresponding in style to the Buddhas of the earliest reliefs. Apart from the difference in style which seems to exist between the oblong reliefs from import-art and those from early Gandhāra art, there also seems to be a difference with regard to the subjects represented. In Hellenistic import-art these are mostly tableaux from classical mythology or from worldly, daily life: little, domestic scenes, men and women at drinking-bouts and feasts, etc., etc. The subjects, represented by early Gandhāra art, which continue to occupy all North-West Indian art afterwards, are scenes, which in some way or other have something to do with religious life if they do not represent the life of the Buddha himself, or that of one of his predecessors, or an

102) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 126, p. 247.

103) See e.g. A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B*, vol. I, fig. 131, p. 253.

104) Reproduced in J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila*, pl. XV and L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 140.

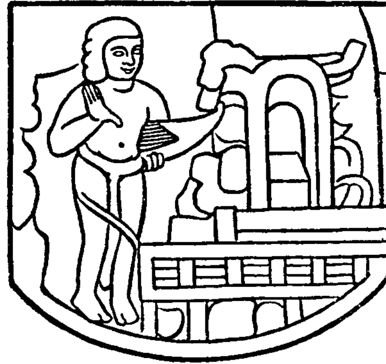
105) BUCHTHAL's opinion is, that the Buddha images first came into vogue and that the narrative reliefs followed only afterwards. This is impossible, as the narrative relief was very popular in India since olden times, so that such reliefs undoubtedly were known also in Gandhāra in very early times already. In case BUCHTHAL would be right, many detached Buddha images of the type met with in the oldest reliefs ought to have been found also; H. BUCHTHAL, *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture*, London 1945.

episode from one of his former existences. As far as we can judge now, this difference between the two styles and periods of art as regards the subjects seems decidedly striking, but of course it remains possible that in the long run we will discover that often even the very frivolous representations of Hellenistic import-art may have had something to do with religion.

It seems to us that the oldest sculptures from early Gandhāra art are reliefs, placed as decoration round the drums of several stūpas, like those at Sikrī (see figs. 3 and 4), representing the most important events in the Buddha's life: birth, first meditation, the great renunciation, meditation under the Bodhi-tree, attack of Māra and the calling-to-witness of the earth, first preaching in the deer-park at Benares, the Nirvāṇa etc., etc. The function of these panels could be compared with that of the stations of the Cross in the Roman Catholic churches, both used as illustrations of the Master's life and at the same time as a meditation-object during the circumambulance. In these panels the Buddha is always represented in a thick woollen monk's robe, enveloping the whole body and only leaving the feet free. In the attitude of meditation even the hands are completely wrapped up in the robe—especially in these oldest specimens; a square piece of the garment often hangs down over the lap to the ground. The hair is tightly drawn backwards and gathered in a top-knot [106]), while the eyes are wide-open and the upper lip wears a moustache. In many cases the representation of the figures is rather clumsy. These scenes from the Buddha's life often give the impression of still being very close to that stage of old Indian art in which the special scenes meant to be represented were only indicated by means of symbols. If for instance we compare the visit of Indra at Sikrī with the same at Bodh-Gayā (see textfig. 7), we find in both cases the remarkable fact that the sculptor apparently considered Pañcaśikha more important than Indra as a means for the identification of the scene. Here in early North-West Indian art, "inter alia" at Sikrī, the language of symbols

106) Occasionally the hair is represented in ribs running over the head and crossed by little grooves, probably a first clumsy endeavour to render wavy hair. See e.g. the visit of Indra to the Buddha on the stūpa of Sikrī, fig. 3.

is still very distinct, as is the case in early Central Indian art. By the way we would like to point out that this close resemblance to the representation of this same scene in early Indian art makes it impossible to assume that the "ultimate models can be found among classical reliefs pertaining to grotto cults" (viz. Mithras, etc.), as BUCHTHAL thinks [107]). The mudrās assumed by the Buddha are those of dhyāna, bhūmisparśa, vara and abhaya. The various scenes are separated by little round Corinthian pilasters, which are sometimes standing in individual compartments. We should like to take the reliquary of Kaniṣka and the reliefs on the sides of the stūpa of Sikrī as representatives of this early stage [108]). The enumerated arguments seem sufficient to assign the reliefs to the very beginning of the development of North-West Indian art. FOUCHER, who was the first to publish an article on the reliefs of Sikrī [109]), also admitted that various archaic elements in the reliefs, reminding one of Sanchi and Bodh-Gayā, indicate antiquity [110]), but as on the other hand he applies to all Gandhāra art the maxim: "The more Grecian the older, and the more Indian the



Textfig. 7. Relief on the railing at Bodh-Gayā representing Indra's visit to the Buddha (*O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. XVI)

107) H. BUCHTHAL, *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture*, Annual Lecture on aspects of Art, Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy 1945, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XXXI, 1945, pp. 17-18.

108) Other examples of sculptures belonging either to this or the next stage of development are: A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 136 on p. 259, in the Museum at Lahore; fig. 141 on p. 279, in the Museum at Lahore (the heads of these two examples are missing); fig. 151 on p. 299, fig. 155 on p. 307, and fig. 156 on p. 309, all in the Guides' Mess at Hoti Mardān; fig. 289 on p. 587, in the Museum at Lahore; fig. 276 on p. 557, in private collection; *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 447 on p. 297, in the British Museum.

109) A. FOUCHER, *Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sikri (Gandhāra)*, *J.A.*, 10e série, tome II, 1903, pp. 185-330.

110) "... à première vue on pourrait les prendre pour de simples transpositions gandhariennes d'anciens motifs magadhiens", ibidem, p. 325.

later" [111]), he decides on a date halfway between the rise and decay of Gandhāra art [112]).

BUCHTHAL also thinks that the evolution runs in the direction of archaisation, describing it as a "revival of the Early Buddhist and prenarrative scheme of Bodh-Gaya" [113]). It seems to us that this is reversing the matter. The archaic traits in the sculptures of Sikrī, also observed by other writers, added to the arguments advanced above, consequently force us to decide that we have to do with one of the oldest works of North-West Indian art.

The reliefs of building L follow in a somewhat later time (see figs. 5 and 6). Here already the perspective is represented much more easily and the hair is indicated slightly wavy. But the symbols are still present, viz. the cakra and little deer, and a mistake like the too large hands shows a not yet experienced ability. The aureole is rather small, compared with later images, and has a thin line scratched along the outline of the disc. The robe has been rendered already far less stiffly; the hem of the garment, falling down from his right wrist over the front, runs upwards again in a beautiful round curve over his left wrist. This left hand, however, gathers the material into a bundle of pleats, sometimes held up slightly, sometimes simply kept in the hand lying in the lap; the rest, however, falls down over the seat in a number of pleats (see fig. 6). Round the neck the garment is folded into two typical triangles (see textfig. 13 on p. 189). It is the Buddha image in this stage of development that has undoubtedly served as a model for the images at Mathurā about the year 130 A.D. As we will see further on in Chapter Three, the sculptors at Mathurā have had examples from North-West India that must have been closely related in all respects to this type of Buddha image from building L at

111) See p. 91.

112) A. FOUCHER, *Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sikri (Gandhāra)*, *J. A.*, 10e série, tome II, 1903, p. 329. His argument that the fact that the Buddha figure is represented a little larger than his acolytes points to a late date, is incorrect. Since the earliest times also in the art of Mathurā Buddha was mostly represented larger than the persons surrounding him.

113) H. BUCHTHAL, *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture,* London 1945, p. 19.

Taxila. To mention only a few of the striking resemblances between these Buddha figures and the copies from Mathurā about the year 130 A.D.: the pleating round the neck with the typical large triangle on either side, the right hand only slightly raised, the curve of the hem of the garment, the direction of the pleats over the knees. In later times the robe often folds closer together directly under the right wrist, so that the leg is no longer visible. Finally the Buddha wears a moustache and his eyes are wide-open. As this stage of development (of which only a few pieces are left, and which apparently was limited chiefly to the decorating reliefs round the base of a stūpa) was copied about the year 130 A.D. at Mathurā, it must have already existed at that time and probably somewhat earlier.

A relief found at Begram by BARTHOUX is very closely related to these reliefs of building L at Taxila (see pl. 7). In the middle of the relief we see the Buddha seated on a throne, on both sides two acolytes, and in addition a severely damaged figure at the right end of the relief. In Chapter Three we will return to the identity of these acolytes [114]). This relief shows again all enumerated peculiarities: the typical line of the hem and the lappet of the garment gathered up, the triangular pleat around the neck, the rather large hand, wide-open eyes, the moustache, the small halo with the line inside the outer edge. The hair, gathered into a big knot, has been combed rather tightly backwards, one would almost be inclined to say more tightly still than is the case with the Buddhas of building L. But the lappet, falling over the seat, has been draped somewhat more elegantly and the undergarment, covering the leg and visible because the upper-garment is lifted by his right hand, has also been draped in a typical pleating: for just before the pleats touch the seat, they form a graceful curve, giving some elegance to the whole image. When publishing the inscription, KONOW expressed the opinion that the script has a form, older than that of the inscription of Mamāne Ḍherī from the year 89 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. 167 A.D.

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114) See Ch. III, pp. 172-177.

and later than that of the inscription of Haḍḍa from the year 28, i.e. 106 A.D. [115]). This tallies with our opinion, expressed on style-critical grounds, viz. that the piece dates from about the time to which the reliefs of building L at Taxila belong. Perhaps the typical pleat in the undergarment, which we will find further on in several pieces from the golden age of Gandhāra art, points to the fact that the relief from Begram is somewhat later than that from building L at Taxila.

After having discussed some seated Buddha images from the early period we will now proceed to some examples of standing Buddhas. Almost all characteristics of this period are to be found best in the Buddha of fig. 8 and the two Buddha figures reproduced in FOUCHER's *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. I, p. 375, fig. 189; and vol. II, p. 775, fig. 583 [116]). The most striking characteristic is the large, high cluster of hair on top of the head. Behind the head, in two cases, a small halo with an engraved line inside the outer edge. In the third case the halo is missing. All three have their eyes wide-open. Their faces show large moustaches. In two out of three cases the robe forms a triangular pleat round the neck. Their right hands are lifted in abhayamudrā, the left hands hold a lappet of the robe, and are raised in two cases, in the third case the hand hangs down alongside the body. So we should like to assign these three reliefs also to the early period of Gandhāra art. Of the two reliefs, resp. from Berlin (see fig. 8) and Mardān, (*A.G.B.,* vol. I, p. 375), this is moreover very likely on account of the fact that they show the typical triangular pleat around the neck, which we also find on the oldest images at Mathurā betraying the influence from Gandhāra, so that this pleat must have been in vogue in North-West India in the time before the year 51 of Kaniṣka, i.e. 129 A.D.,

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115) S. KONOW, *Kharoshthi Inscription on a Begram Bas-relief, Ep. Ind.,* vol. 22, 1933, part I, pp. 11-14, esp. p. 12.

116) This image is also reproduced in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.,* Neue Folge, vol. VI, 1930, pl. 34, a and J. BURGESS, *Buddhist Art in India,* London 1901, fig. 117.

the year from which the oldest dated image from Mathurā showing influence from Gandhāra originates.

Proceeding, we have, chronologically speaking, a hold on the image found at Mamāne Ḍherī of the year 89 of the Śaka era or 167 A.D. (see fig. 9). Here we have obviously arrived at what we should like to call a flourishing period. In the past three or four decennia the art has rapidly improved. This does not only appear from the Buddha image itself, but also from the entourage of the scene, which obviously represents the visit of Indra to the Buddha. With an extreme love for detail the wood with its inhabitants has been depicted: tiny monkeys, deer, all kinds of birds, such as doves, a peacock, etc. In the midst of all this animal life are figures worshipping the Buddha, among whom we also discover Indra with his harpist Pañcaśikha. Below, to the right, we see Airāvata, Indra's elephant, holding up a sun shade in its trunk. By the love with which all this animal life and the details of nature have been represented we recognise the Indian sculptor. Here an artistic aptitude finds expression, which can also be admired in the beautiful gates at Sanchi.

The human figures have been set up in space with great ease, standing or kneeling in loose, graceful attitudes and the draperies accentuate this element by their jaunty representation.

The Buddha image itself shows a great improvement after the sculptures from building L at Taxila and that from Begram. Certainly the robe is still rendered as a rather thick material, and the body does not show through it, however, some differences can be observed: the hair, which is rendered very naturally and distinctly wavy, drops to a sharp point in the middle of the line of the forehead, the aureole has become larger and has been left completely smooth, the Buddha does not seem to wear a moustache (unless it was painted on), the fold in the undergarment, in this case under both legs, has been much more accentuated. We notice this pleat, folded towards the front along the leg, coming into vogue along the legs of the standing and kneeling figures as well. We have good examples of this in the fourth and sixth figure from the left in the lowest row. (It is possible that the figure to

the right of the Buddha of Begram also shows already that pleat along the right leg, but that is not clearly visible in the photograph.) That the eyes are all but closed does in itself not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Buddhas in this period no longer have wide-opened eyes (although that is very probable indeed), for in this case the Buddha has been represented in meditation, which implies that the eyes are half-closed.

The stage of development following that of Mamāne Ḍherī we find in the image of Loriyān Tāṅgai from the year 318 of the old era, i.e. 189 A.D. (see fig. 10). The detached image appears to have come into existence. This was to be expected, as standing images of the type of Mamāne Ḍherī are also to be found. Certainly the material is still indicated as a rather thick substance, but here and there the body shows through. On the pedestal (see fig. 12) a Bodhisattva is represented between four figures, flanked by two flat pilasters, which, however, do not yet taper upwards, and show a still elongated oblong on the shaft, which points to a date in the beginning of the great flourishing period. Unfortunately the image itself as well as the pedestal have been badly mutilated, so that we cannot draw many conclusions about the style, although the unconstrained, loose attitude of the acolytes on the pedestal points to an experienced sculptor.

Halfway through the 3rd century the climax is reached. The image of Hashtnagar from 384 = 255 A.D. is proof of this (see fig. 11). Sculptors now begin to render the robe as of much thinner material and the shape of the body shows through in main outlines. For instance, the left knee is very distinctly visible. The relief on the pedestal (see fig. 13) shows us a scene, now enclosed by two graceful Corinthian pilasters with tapering shafts, so characteristic of the sculptures from the golden age of Gandhāra and later. Also the oblong on the shaft has become shorter. The scene on the pedestal finally shows that a master-sculptor has been at work here. The three figures are placed in an unconstrained attitude around the Bodhisattva, who addresses a figure on his right side. The turned attitude, especially that of the second figure on the

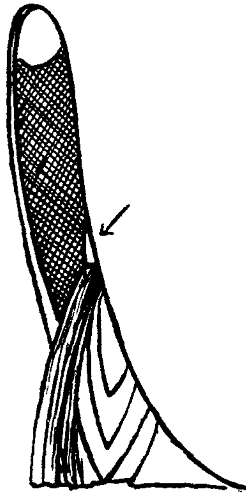
left, has been represented very skilfully, but the figure on the extreme right also deserves our attention in this respect. Because of strong mutilation but little can be said about the figure on the extreme left. Unfortunately it is impossible to discern in the photograph, whether the two figures flanking the Bodhisattva, have a halo behind their heads. In that case we would have a confirmation of what we now only suppose, relying on the head-dress of both figures, as well as on the presence of many jewels on the figure on the right, and the lack of them on the one on the left, namely that they represent Indra and Brahmā.

It is a pity that the Buddhas of Loriyān Tāṅgai and that of Hashtnagar no longer possess heads, but we can form an idea ourselves on the ground of sculptures, which after comparison appear to belong to the same style-period. An image, showing, to say the least of it, striking resemblances to the Buddhas of Loriyān Tāṅgai and Hashtnagar, is a Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhī (see fig. 14), at present in the "Museum für Völkerkunde" at Berlin [117]). Fortunately this piece is much less damaged than the Buddha of Loriyān Tāṅgai, and, moreover, the head is undamaged except for the nose. "Par acquit de conscience" we first give some reasons for assuming that this image originates from about the same time as the Buddhas mentioned. First of all, the same corpulency of the body and the thick-set figure. Furthermore, the pleating is very similar: often a thinner and a thicker pleat alternate. In both cases the robe is of a rather transparent material, through which the body can be surmised in several places, e.g. especially the abdomen and the legs. Over their right legs the Buddhas from Takht-i-Bāhī and Hashtnagar show a very typical V-shaped pleat just above the lower hem of their robes. Moreover the pleating on the left shoulder and upper-arm of the first Buddha is nearly similar to that of the Buddha of Loriyān Tāṅgai, while the pleating on the right breast is exactly the same as on the Buddha of Hashtnagar. From the latter image the left shoulder and arm are lacking,

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117) Museum für Völkerkunde N° I. C. 5996, reproduced in L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen*, pl. 1; further in J. BURGESS, *Buddhist Art in India*, fig. 122.

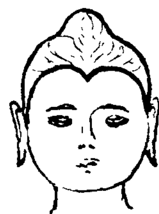
so that they cannot serve for comparison. Most striking, however, is the pleat of the undergarment, showing from under the upper-garment to our left, and which occurs in the same form in the image of Loriyān Tāṅgai. This part unfortunately also has been broken away in the Buddha of Hashtnagar. This pleat is something very special. On a definite part of the leg, viz. at the knee, it suddenly stands out widely from the body. This is so striking that it is a conclusive argument for the resemblance between both pieces. On the photograph of the Berlin Buddha it looks as if something is holding the pleats of the undergarment together at the knee and that this is the cause why the pleats stand out so widely at the bottom. If we are not mistaken, the line of the pleats confirms this supposition. Textfig. 8 shows what we think we see. It cannot be discerned on the photographs what holds the pleats of the undergarment together at the knee, but some other images and reliefs of standing Buddhas give a solution: In several cases we see [118]) a piece of material suddenly ending at the knee; probably a rather long shirt. It is true that these Buddhas do not show the strikingly wide pleats in the undergarment which characterize the Buddhas of Loriyān Tāṅgai and Takht-i-Bāhī, but nevertheless we can now explain the origin of the pleat from the fact that the shirt kept the material of the undergarment together rather tightly as high as the



Textfig. 8. Detail of the monk's robe worn by the Buddha

118) *Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures on view at the Gainsborough Studios,* New York, no date, pp. 24 and 41; L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen,* pl. 5; A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.,* vol. I, fig. 234, p. 465; A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *H.I.I.A.,* fig. 90; W. COHN, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens,* Leipzig 1925, p. 5. COOMARASWAMY has published in an article entitled *Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique,* III: *Trois bas-reliefs du Gandhāra, R.A.A.,* vol. V, 1928, pp. 250-252 in pl. LIX, fig. 6, a relief, in which we see the Buddha, crossing the Nairañjana. The Master has taken off the uppergarment and is standing in the water, dressed in undergarment and shirt.

knee. Let us now consider the head of the Buddha of Takht-i-Bāhī somewhat closer. Perhaps some conclusions can be drawn from it with regard to the appearance of the Buddha heads from this period. In the first place we have to state that it cannot be seen on the photograph whether the Buddha wears a moustache or not. It seems that the face is clean-shaven, but the possibility that the moustache was painted on always remains, the more so when we see, that a piece like the Buddha bust at Berlin [119]), which has a distinctly visible moustache in relief, has a naked right shoulder, which as we will see further on points to a period after the middle of the 2nd century A.D. [120]). So we cannot be certain about the moustache. Like that of the Buddha of Mamāne Ḍherī, the head is covered with wavy hair, which begins at the top of the forehead without that sharply cut line of the forehead which we will often see on later images (see textfig. 9). The hair runs backwards from the middle of the line of the forehead in wavy strands and shows a deep point in the middle, just like that of the image of Mamāne Ḍherī. Although the eyelids are damaged, it can still just be seen that the eyes are no longer wide-open, like in the early period of Gandhāra. Probably this was the case already in some earlier images, but as said, it could not be ascertained for the Buddha of Mamāne Ḍherī. Just as that of Mamāne Ḍherī the halo is smooth and large, compared with the nimbus of the early Buddhas.



Textfig. 9. Sharply cut line of the forehead, peculiarity of later images

Still another Buddha at Berlin [121]), stylistically speaking, very strongly resembles that of Hashtnagar (see fig. 15). This one shows the same corpulency as the Buddha of Hashtnagar. In both images the trunk of the body is very distinctly visible under the robe, which has been tightly drawn especially over the ab-

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119) Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde N° I. C. 32461. Reproduced in L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen*, pl. 2. 120) See pp. 125 seq.

121) Reproduced in A. VON LE COQ, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. I, *Die Plastik*, pl. 5 and E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, pl. 4.

domen, and, as a matter of fact, the garment seems to be only a thin film. The Buddha at Berlin shows the same wide pleat at the side of the right leg, only in a somewhat less exaggerated way. And here too the photograph seems to show something at the knee, which resembles the hem of the shirt. Again in both images we see the same pleats on the right breast and the right leg. Concerning the head of this Buddha we can remark that the hair also still runs backwards from the forehead in the same wavy strands. Once more the halo is large and smooth. The moustache is again missing, so in the Buddha images moustaches are probably out of fashion (as far as they were indicated in relief), but we regularly find them in the representations of Bodhisattvas.

So we see that the golden age of Gandhāra art expands from the middle of the 2nd century A.D. onwards. The influence of Gandhāra on Amarāvatī, observed by SENART, should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that consequently towards the end of the 2nd century the flourishing period of Gandhāra had already passed, but rather that it had just started. Probably the Hellenistic influence found in Amarāvatī is due to influence exercised by Mathurā, where about 130 A.D. examples of early Gandhāra art were copied.

To the flourishing period of North-West India belong sculptures like the Buddha from Sahr-i-Bahlol (see fig. 17), and the seated Buddha at Berlin (see fig. 16); further, the Bodhisattvas from Sahr-i-Bahlol [122]) (see for instance fig. 18), to mention only a few detached sculptures.

The great resemblance BACHHOFER saw between some of these pieces, e.g. the Buddha from Sahr-i-Bahlol and the stucco Buddhas from a—according to him—much later time, like those in chapel N 18 (see fig. 21) at Taxila, made him decide on a renaissance period in the 3rd century A.D. Now in our opinion this is incorrect, as we have already said, and the explanation for the resemblance between both groups of images lies in the fact that

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122) L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara-Plastik*, pl. 10, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 145, fig. 2.

they really belong to one and the same period, viz. the golden age of Gandhāra, to wit, since the middle of the 2nd century down to and including the 3rd century and presumably even the beginning of the 4th century [123]). So the separate first flourishing period in the 1st century A.D., assumed by BACHHOFER, did not exist at all. It goes without saying that in the golden age not all pieces reached perfection; less capable artisans are found in all times, but that should not necessarily lead to conclusions of an absolutely separate period for the less artistic pieces of work. The mannerism which according to BACHHOFER would be characteristic of this period and which can indeed be discerned in many sculptures from North-West India, is a trait, the germs of which are present already very early. We remind the reader of the fold under the leg of the Buddha of Mamāne Ḍherī, which can also be noticed in a lesser degree in earlier images.

The stuccos found by Sir JOHN MARSHALL in the monastery of Mohṛā Morādu show this mannerism to such an extent that one might speak of a baroque inclination. The hanging lappets, which in former times were already in vogue especially for Bodhisattvas and royal figures (see fig. 9), now appear also in the Buddha images. These lappets now fall down in V-shaped flounces with rippling edges, which give an extremely jaunty expression, but when exaggerated we may talk of a turbulent, baroque excess. Sir JOHN MARSHALL dated the finds from the complex of Mohṛā Morādu in the 4th and the 5th century on grounds of the form of the brickwork.

After the discovery of the monasteries of Mohṛā Morādu and of Jauliāñ most archaeologists, from the fact that so many stucco images were found there, drew the conclusion that after the 2nd century A.D. Gandhāra art had completely died out as far as stone sculpture was concerned, and after that time only sculpture in plaster was produced [124]). In favour of this conception the

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123) We would like to draw our reader's attention to the fact that ROWLAND arrived at almost the same date, be it along another line of arguments, see p. 78.

124) A. FOUCHER in J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, M.A.S.I.*, N° 7, p. 38; B. ROWLAND JR. in *Gandhāra and Late Antique Art: The Buddha Image,*

fourth and up till now latest dated image from North-West India could plead, we mean the Hāritī figure from Skārah Ḍherī, dated in the year 399 of the old era or 270 A.D. Everyone agrees that this image is ugly, and accordingly the conclusion was drawn that it is a specimen from the time of the decay of Gandhāra art. In contrast to the theory just given about a decay in stone sculpture with only a continuation or—as BACHHOFER thinks—a revival of sculpture in stucco afterwards, represented by the monastery-complexes of Jauliāñ and Mohṛā Morādu, another possibility exists which we should like to put forward, as to us it seems nearer the truth. When examining the figures of Mohṛā Morādu [125]) (see fig. 21), our attention is attracted to the at least striking resemblance between several specimens and the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the golden age, e.g. those from Sahr-i-Bahlol. This compels us to conclude that these sculptures of Mohṛā Morādu are contemporary with the pieces of Sahr-i-Bahlol etc., or else represent a stage, immediately following it.

An argument in favour of this is the following: The resemblance between the two compared styles of art is so striking, that it is impossible to assume that between the Bodhisattvas from Sahr-i-Bahlol (and in general the style from the flourishing period, represented by that image) and the art from Mohṛā Morādu, the image from Skārah Ḍherī from 270 A.D. should be interpolated, at least if this image represents a period of decay as is generally assumed. Should this last supposition be correct, then the only conclusion would have to be that the plaster sculptures in question from Mohṛā Morādu dated from a period before 270 A.D. Now it seems to us, that this does not tally with the fact that Sir JOHN MARSHALL ascribed a so much later date to that art. So the only

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Supplement to the A.J.A., vol. XLVI, 1942, pp. 229-230 says: "There are indications that stone sculpture was often replaced by work in stucco both in India and Afghanistan at a time probably no later than the midfourth century A.D., and it may be that we should tentatively take the year 350 A.D. as a terminus post quem for all the carvings in slate." Here the author obviously contradicts himself, probably he means that 350 A.D. is the "terminus ante quem" for the carvings in slate.

125) See also L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 154, fig. 1.

remaining alternative is that the image of Skārah Ḍherī cannot be considered as the representative of a definite period of art, and, in this case, of decadence, but that it is simply an isolated inferior piece, which can occur more than once even in flourishing periods.

A striking argument in favour of this point of view is the fact that only 15 years before, an image as excellent as the Buddha of Hashtnagar could be produced. It is impossible that art could so quickly degenerate in such a short period and again after some time produce sculptures like that from the monastery of Mohṛā Morādu, which so strongly resemble images from the time preceding the sudden decay. Consequently we do not accept a period of decadence between the golden age and the fragments from Mohṛā Morādu in question, and we think they form one united whole.

Either of the two following conclusions can be drawn from this:

1—The sculptures of Mohṛā Morādu under discussion date from the flourishing period (second half of the 2nd century or the 3rd century A.D.), or:

2—The golden age covers the 4th and 5th centuries as well.

It seems to us that instead of these two extremes it would be best to steer a middle course, for we have already seen that to the first possibility the objection can be raised that Sir JOHN MARSHALL, for architectural reasons, ascribes the art of the complex of Mohṛā Morādu to the 4th-5th century. In objection to the second possibility we should like to advance that a dating of the flourishing period in the 5th century A.D. is impossible, after comparing the stuccos in question from the monastery of Mohṛā Morādu with the stucco sculptures from the monastery of Jauliāñ, of which it can be assumed that they date from the 5th century on account of the freshness of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on the images. So according to their fresh appearance the inscriptions cannot have been very old when the monastery was destroyed by the invasion of the White Huns in the 5th century. It is true that sculptures have been found at Mohṛā Morādu, which show a resemblance to those from Jauliāñ from the 5th century, but as far as we can see these first are precisely *not* the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which strongly

resemble the flourishing period of Gandhāra art. This can be explained by the fact that even after the golden age also stucco work was made in Mohṛā Morādu, so that the monastery possessed art from the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century and also from the 5th century. Probably it was not destroyed or deserted until the invasion of the Hephtalites. On the other hand there are pieces at Jauliāñ [126]), stylistically resembling the—in our opinion—earlier sculptures of Mohṛā Morādu. But those are precisely *not* the images, which, as appears from the undamaged Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions they bear, belong to the 5th century. So when we compare the, in our opinion, early fragments from Mohṛā Morādu [127]) (see fig. 21) with sculptures of Jauliāñ from the 5th century [128]), we can observe the following differences of style, which point to an earlier date for the art of Mohṛā Morādu. In contrast with those of Mohṛā Morādu the sculptures of Jauliāñ are not very elegant, the figures often are even wooden, and the modelling is strongly impressionistic. For instance the hair is often indicated by little round imprints in the surface of the head [129]) or by rows of semi-circular imprints [130]) from the forehead backwards, as seen in the somewhat later art of Haḍḍa [131]). From a distance this gives the same effect of light and shade as the older heads of Mohṛā Morādu, but these often have beautiful and regular zig-zag wavy hair, flowing out all over the head from the now often sharply cut line of the forehead [132]). The in our opinion early sculptures of Mohṛā Morādu have furthermore numerous larger and smaller pleats, while on the seated images many lappets hang

126) See for instance L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 157, fig. 2, especially the pleats on the right upper arm and under the right forearm. Furthermore J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, M.A.S.I.,* N° 7, pl. XVIII, a.

127) See also L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 154, fig. 1.

128) J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila,* 3rd ed., pl. XXII.

129) See preceding note, figure at the right and J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, M.A.S.I.,* N° 7, pl. XIX, a and b.

130) See J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila,* 3rd ed., pl. XXII, figure in the centre.

131) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 161, figs. 1 and 2.

132) Ibidem, pl. 158, figs. 3 and 4, and J. MARSHALL. *Excavations at Taxila, M.A.S.I.,* N° 7, pl. XII, a.

down over the seat in graceful V-shaped flounces with rippling edges. The images of Jauliāñ from the 5th century, on the other hand, have a far smaller number of pleats, limited to a few large ones, the smaller ones having been omitted. while the many hanging lappets are no more to be seen [133]), at most we notice a sack-pleat [134]), but then without the rippling edges of the hem on either side, so characteristic of the lappets in the former period.

So we should like to assign the early pieces of Mohṛā Morādu in question, which show such a striking resemblance to works from the golden age of Gandhāra, to the end of the 3rd or to the 4th century. In that way, on the one hand, we suggest that the golden age of Gandhāra art continued presumably even right into the 4th century A.D., and on the other hand we assume that the older sculptures from Mohṛā Morādu came into existence at the end of the 3rd century and during the 4th century, instead of in the 4th and 5th centuries. This last is not in contradiction with the date, obtained by Sir JOHN MARSHALL during his excavations. He says, that the monastery itself, judging by the building-technique, viz. semi-ashlar (see for this type for instance fig. 20), was built at the end of the 2nd century A.D., while about two centuries afterwards additions and restorations were made. Besides, many coins from the 2nd century A.D. were found, especially of Huviṣka and Vāsudeva [135]). Hence the complex was rather old and built in the flourishing period: the large stūpa I, decorated with the stucco Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which we especially used as material for comparison, would belong to the 3rd-5th century. So we see that Sir JOHN MARSHALL's data also set the limit in such a way, that our more precise dating of the, in our opinion, earlier stucco figures fits in easily.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the art of stūpa I at Mohṛā Morādu dates from the golden age of Gandhāra, to be exact from its end, on account of the mannerism in the robe of the Buddha.

We have explained why a decay of stone sculpture as a whole

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133) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 157, fig. 1.
134) Ibidem, pl. 156, fig. 1.
135) J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila,* 3rd ed., p. 125.

with the Hāritī of Skārah-Ḍherī at its close does not seem possible, and we have tried to prove that the flourishing period lasted somewhat longer than was assumed up till now, and that the art of Mohṛā Morādu ought not to be considered as a renaissance. But we still owe an explanation of the fact, why at some sites only stucco sculptures are found. As said, it seems incorrect to assume a separate period for this kind of art, as part of this plaster sculpture can be considered almost contemporary with the stone sculpture discovered at other sites. That is why we do not see a chronological explanation as the solution, but a geological one. It is a fact that the stone in the neighbourhood of Taxila is not very suitable for stone-cutting. It easily chips off and is very brittle; another kind of stone, the kañjur, is much too soft [136]). The supply of better stone from the Swāt valley would have been very expensive, and therefore materials were used which were more easily obtained and moreover were much cheaper, viz. "limeplaster" and clay. The first was always used for images and the decoration of stūpas as this material is more weather-proof. For roofed-over sculptures the still cheaper clay was very often used.

There are still some points, which perhaps can be best put forward now. They mostly concern peculiarities of style, which we have found especially in later Gandhāra art, and which consequently can be used as a dating-element. We can only touch upon this incidentally, and we hope to be able to return to it more in detail in due time.

In the first place, there exists a kind of sculpture fragments, which places the Buddha image in the midst of architectural scenery (see fig. 22). This mostly consists of the façade of a building with porticos and galleries. A large number of figures are seated here, an audience ranging from ordinary laymen to the highest Bodhisattvas, Buddhas or gods. The Buddha image in the middle of these pieces often shows peculiarities, pointing to a later date. The Buddha is nearly always seated in dharmacakramudrā, and this brings us to the second point. We have already

136) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, M.A.S.I.*, N° 7, p. 13.

pointed out that in the beginning of Gandhāra art, and in the beginning of the golden age as well, almost only the abhayamudrā and the dhyānamudrā were used. The appearance of the dharmacakramudrā occurs in a later period, as the earlier pieces nearly always indicate the preaching of the Master by means of a wheel, which the Buddha turns with his hand [137]) (see fig. 5). Somewhat later the wheel is still represented on the relief, but the Buddha has already assumed the abhayamudrā [138]).

BOSCH [139]) following BURGESS [140]) thought that in Gandhāra only the seated Buddha figures in dharmacakramudrā or bhūmisparśamudrā have an uncovered right shoulder. We have met, however, with many examples of Buddhas with uncovered right shoulders, showing another mudrā than the dharmacakramudrā e.g. the Buddha found by Sir AUREL STEIN at Sahr-i-Bahlol [141]) showing the dhyānamudrā, furthermore a Buddha at Calcutta probably in abhayamudrā, and finally five Buddhas on reliefs in the Musea at Lahore, Calcutta and Berlin [142]).

On the other hand we have also found Buddhas in dharmacakramudrā with both shoulders covered [143]), so that the idea that with

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137) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 208, p. 412.

138) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, p. 433, fig. 220 and a relief, reproduced in *Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures on view at the Gainsborough Studios*, p. 28, Field Museum Collection.

139) F. D. K. BOSCH, *Eene Onderscheiding van staande en zittende Buddhafiguren op de Reliefs van de Borobudur en elders, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 57, Batavia 1916, pp. 97-116, esp. p. 108; henceforth abbreviated as *T.B.G.*

140) J. BURGESS, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 172 seq.

141) M. A. STEIN, *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlōl. A.S.I.A.R.*, 1911-'12, pl. 36, fig. 2.

142) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 481, p. 497 and vol. I, figs. 237, 238 and 249 on pp. 469, 471 and 499; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, pl. 14; H. HARGREAVES, *Explorations, Frontier Circle, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1921-'22, pp. 57-58 and pl. 25, b.

143) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 456 on p. 319; A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 91; *Origin Buddha Image*, fig. 54; J. J. BARTHOUX, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, Stupas et Sites, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, tome IV, Paris 1933, passim e.g. figs. 91 and 123 on pp. 105 and 147.

the dharmacakramudrā the right shoulder was always left uncovered (because this was more comfortable in this attitude as is sometimes supposed), does not seem to be in accordance with the facts.

The style of the various images showing this mudrā (see for instance figs. 22-25), points to the fact that the dharmacakramudrā only occurs in later images. Besides the uncovered right shoulder they also very often show a hair-dressing consisting of little curls in the shape of snail-shells (see fig. 22). The feet are mostly uncovered, and finally also the treatment and the flow of the pleats often betray a later period.

The first characteristics: the curly hair, the uncovered right shoulder and feet, are all three typical of the Buddha from Mathurā, especially the latter two, which even go back to the time when the Buddha image in that part of India was still absolutely free from influences from North-West India. The curly hair, although in the form of snail-shells, customary here and there in old Indian art for a long time already, was not adopted for the Buddha image at Mathurā until after the year 130 A.D. [144]). So the three peculiarities mentioned, which the Buddha image with dharmacakramudrā at Gandhāra often possesses [145]), are very probably due to influences from Mathurā that have asserted themselves after the year 130 A.D. at the earliest, but perhaps not even until a century afterwards. As the dharmacakramudrā rather regularly accompanies the three qualities mentioned, it is moreover possible that this mudrā itself was also imported from Mathurā. It is not unfeasible that these three peculiarities mentioned of the image with dharmacakramudrā only came to North-West India towards the Gupta time, that is to say at the beginning of the 4th century. A fact in favour of this is that in Gandhāra the snail-shell curls are mostly small, which is the case in Central India

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144) See Ch. III, pp. 206 seq.

145) Not all Buddhas with dharmacakramudrā possess all three qualities, so e.g. A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 79, p. 197 and vol. II, figs. 405, 406, 459 and 482 on pp. 205, 207, 331 and 501 show wavy hair, whereas fig. 22, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 346 on p. 87, *Origin Buddha Image*, fig. 54, show covered feet.

also only towards the Gupta period[146]. Before this time the curls at Mathurā and the rest of India were still rather large. If the dharmacakramudrā was indeed imported from Mathurā, then it could not have been introduced into North-West India at an early date, for in Mathurā the dharmacakramudrā does at any rate not occur in early Kuṣāṇa art, and as concerns the Post-Kuṣāṇa period we have unfortunately not come across any reliefs representing the first preaching. So if the dharmacakramudrā was introduced from India into Gandhāra, then presumably this happened only towards the Gupta period, but it is clear that for the time being these last statements cannot be considered as sufficiently proved.

The three peculiarities introduced, to wit: the snail-shell curls and the uncovered right shoulder and feet are, however, not applied very generally, and although apparently used time and again in a certain period, both shoulders and feet are usually covered, while the hair is wavy. As a matter of fact we do find various Buddhas, showing such hair-waves that one might take them to be imitations of the snail-shell curls of the Buddha image from the Gupta period, as e.g. the Buddha in fig. 23, the Buddha of Chārsadda[147], and several others. But it is clear that the snail-shell curls which have become the special canonical form of the hair of the Buddha in the rest of India, do not meet with general approval in Gandhāra. This is also one of the reasons that regarding this point we have concluded an influx from India into Gandhāra and not the other way round. In India itself the three characteristics mentioned are generally accepted, in Gandhāra it was only a temporary phenomenon.

A single Buddha image in dhyānamudrā without the small snail-shell curls shows a very regular, conventionalized water-wave, which spreads from the middle of the forehead to all sides (see fig. 26). This is a way of hair-dressing which is also rather late.

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146) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, figs. 407, 483 and 578, pp. 209, 503 and 749; W. COHN, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig 1925, p. 7.

147) Lahore Museum N° 1227, reproduced in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, frontispiece of vol. II. Another example is *Origin Buddha Image*, fig. 54, or W. COHN, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, p. 5.

We find it at Mohṛā Morādu. Later on we meet it again in Haḍḍa and on very old Buddha images in China, e.g. in the caves of T'ien Lung Shan from about 650 A.D. [148]).

The fourth quality, often characterizing the images with dharmacakramudrā, is the special line of the folds, although some other images show this pleating as well. This peculiarity can be reduced above all to two typical pleats: firstly, the one round the right breast in those images having an uncovered right shoulder, and secondly the loop under the right foot, in those images having uncovered feet. It is clear that the images with dharmacakramudrā only show the pleats mentioned in connection with the required uncovered right shoulder or feet, which is mostly the case. These folds are well demonstrated in the Buddhas in figs. 23, 24, 25 and 26 and the images reproduced in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, figs. 407, 482 and 483 on pp. 209, 501 and 503. We must just for a moment draw special attention to the first pleating, as it runs in a way different from that of the images in Mathurā and the rest of India. In Gandhāra two layers of the robe are shown, viz.: the first fold which runs close under the right arm-pit, covers the right breast and runs back over the left shoulder crossing the back, then returns again as a second wrapping under the right arm-pit, but far less tightly this time, and is draped in a loose fold under the already covered right breast, and over the left shoulder, after which the end of the drapery passes under the left arm and is held in the left hand. Moreover the second wrapping over the breast shows the peculiarity that it is very strongly pleated at the edge, so that a thick roll of material runs obliquely over the breast, while the pleats on the front of the body do not flow out from this roll of material as might be expected, but drop down in a round curve, then bend to the left [149]).

148) See for instance a head in the Ethnographical Museum at Leyden, Series 2334, N° 2. In Haḍḍa see J. J. BARTHOUX, *Griechisch-Indische Kunst in Afghanistan, Atlantis,* vol. 2, Zürich 1930, pp. 182-191, esp. fig. on p. 190.

149) The paintings at Bāmiyān several times show various colours in the monks' robes which suggest that they were lined with another colour, see A. VON LE COQ, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, Neue Bildwerke,* vol. II, Berlin 1928, pl. 3 and vol. III, Berlin 1933, pl. 3.

The second typical fold, the loop protuding from under the right leg, is still more characteristic than the previous one (see esp. fig. 26). Its origin is very easily explained, it being the lower hem of the second wrapping, which is taken up by the right leg, and then protudes between both legs. Further, the extra wavy folds over the lower end of the left leg are remarkable, as are the fan-like pleats radiating over the seat. We should like to consider this fan-like pleat, showing from under the legs of some images, as an imitation of the same pleating in Gupta images, which is at least as conventionalized as in the images discussed from Gandhāra. To demonstrate those specific folds over the breast and at the feet, we have taken as an example images which are probably at the very end of the development of this phenomenon, because in them we see the peculiarities in question most clearly: the exaggerated way of persisting in these peculiarities have made them, as it were, caricatures. But of course we can distinguish transition-stages, in which the folds on the breast flow out from the roll of material as might be expected, and moreover the roll is not so excessively thick, and the loop under the feet not so exaggerated. An image in the Lahore Museum (see fig. 24), which belongs to the later part of the golden age of Gandhāra art, can serve as a model for this, judging by the way the pleats are treated in the robes of the Buddha himself, and of the monk (presumably the donor of the image). Further, the image in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 481 on p. 497, which does not show the first wrapping over the right breast [150]). This last, however, is a great exception and it is the only specimen of this kind we know of; perhaps we have here one of the oldest examples of the type with uncovered shoulder in Gandhāra? The abhayamudrā could also point to this. Was not this attitude one of the characteristics of the earliest Buddha images in Mathurā, as well as in Gandhāra? [151])

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150) This Buddha is also reproduced in N. G. MAJUMDAR, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, part 2, *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra*, Delhi 1937, pl. II, a.

151) The Buddha reproduced in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, pl. 14, with one shoulder covered, gives the impression of being earlier than

As a last quality of the various images with dharmacakra-mudrā we mentioned the treatment of the pleats; as we find this in many other later images as well, we could perhaps better say that it is an argument for the fact that the images with dharmacakra-mudrā date from the second half of the flourishing period of Gandhāra art. We still owe an explanation about this treatment of the pleats. The early images of North-West Indian art already show a rather great routine in properly representing the pleats of the robe. In the flourishing period the Buddha images show a perfect skilfulness in the modelling of those pleats. Here and there the body shows rather clearly through the thin robe. Now in later sculptures, especially in the smaller figures, we find a technique suggesting pleats which we would like to describe as follows: the folds are no longer lying thickly on the body supposed under the robe. On the contrary, the hollows of the folds have been hewn into the stone; another characteristic is moreover, that most of these grooves of pleats run parallel in pairs, and that in the larger images the narrow little ridge between those two grooves of pleats has been hewn away.

A good example of the first phenomenon we find in the relief in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.* vol. II, 407, p. 209. We can mention several examples of this kind of modelling of the pleats, and it mostly appears in those particular images, which for other reasons must belong to a late stage of development [152]). An example of the second case, where the ridge between the two grooves has been hewn away, and which is more often used in larger images, can be found in the Buddha in figs. 23 and 26 and in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 429 on p. 242, fig. 482 on p. 501 and fig. 483 on p. 503. Further in an article by SPOONER in *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1907-'08, pl. 47, d [153]).

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the other images with uncovered right shoulder; also reproduced in A. VON LE COQ, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. I, *Die Plastik*, pl. 7.

152) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, p. 257, fig. 134; II, p. 87, fig. 346; II, p. 207, fig. 406; II, p. 285, fig. 443; II, p. 507, fig. 484; II, p. 511, fig. 485.

153) D. B. SPOONER, *Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī*, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1907-'08, pp. 132-148, pl. 47, d.

The Buddha images with dharmacakramudrā gave rise to the discussion of five peculiarities of style, which we meet with in these and some other images from the later period of Gandhāra art.

There is still one more point we should like to discuss in connection with these images with dharmacakramudrā. FOUCHER was of opinion that the representation in which the Buddha with dharmacakramudrā is seated on a lotus rising up on its stem, while at his sides Brahmā and Indra are standing or seated, can be identified as the miracle of Śrāvastī [154]). We will discuss the three characteristics which FOUCHER pointed out for the miracle of Śrāvastī one by one, taking first the second point, viz. the lotus rising up on its stem used as a seat by the Master. There seem to be some small objections against this argument.

Firstly, in four of the examples which FOUCHER gives of the miracle of Śrāvastī, the Buddha is not seated on a lotus [155]). From this the conclusion could be drawn that in the miracle of Śrāvastī the Buddha is not always seated on a lotus, or else that not all Buddhas in dharmacakramudrā, flanked by Brahmā and Indra, represent the miracle of Śrāvastī. As all canonical books explicitly state that the miracle consisted in the multiplication of the lotus on which the Master was seated, the first supposition seems improbable, and we consequenly have to draw the conclusion that not all examples indicated by FOUCHER represent the miracle of Śrāvastī. In the Gupta period and afterwards we meet with Buddhas seated or standing on lotus-flowers in all kinds of attitudes, and there are even representations, clearly characterized by two little deer and a wheel as the first preaching, in which the Master is seated in dharmacakramudrā on a lotus [156]). It is clear that by

154) A. FOUCHER, *Le „Grand Miracle" du Buddha à Çrāvastī, J.A.*, 10e série, tome XIII, 1909, pp. 1-78.

155) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 76, p. 192; vol. II, figs. 406, 484, 485 resp. on pp. 207, 507 and 511.

156) E.g. a relief from Nālandā, Indian Museum, Calcutta, reproduced in W. COHN, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig 1925, p. 65. Further S. KRAMRISCH, *Pala and Sena Sculpture, Rūpam*, N° 40, Oct. 1929, pp. 107-126, fig. 16. (N.B. Fig. 14 is no "Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana" as appears from the little deer on both sides of the cakra on the base; we have here a case of "Buddha paré".)

that time the lotus had become the seat, "par excellence", of the Buddha and more generally of every divine being. Apparently this stage already exists during the golden age in Gandhāra, where for instance Indra and Brahmā are represented standing on a lotus on the halo of a Buddha image [157]). Even from the early art of Mathurā a stambha is known on which a Buddha of the very oldest type is standing on a lotus [158]). In various standing Buddha images of Gupta art we meet with the lotus, risen high on its stalk. On either side of the stalk smaller lotus-flowers spring up on which acolytes stand often holding a cāmara. Now and again some still betray their original nature by carrying a thunderbolt [159]). Therefore the lotus as a seat is no specific characteristic of the miracle of Śrāvastī. Regarding the first characteristic mentioned by FOUCHER, the dharmacakramudrā, we have to remark that in Gupta art and afterwards we meet with many Buddhas with dharmacakramudrā, on whose seat a wheel has been represented flanked by small deer. This undeniably identifies it as the first preaching in the deer-park. As an example we only need to mention the famous image of Sārnāth. The characteristics of the miracle of Śrāvastī become still weaker when at Sārnāth we even find a representation of the first preaching in which a Buddha is seated in dharmacakramudrā with two acolytes, of which the one to the right clearly betrays his original character by the vajra in the left hand [160]). All this becomes still stranger when we find a Buddha in dhyānamudrā indicated by FOUCHER as the miracle of Śrāvastī [161]).

Now for the first characteristic of the miracle of Śrāvastī, the

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157) This image was in the Guides' Mess at Hoti Mardān. Photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Gandhāra.

158) This stambha is in the Museum at Lucknow, probably N° B. 73 in the old numbering and at present N° H. 24. Photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā.

159) E.g. an image, originating from Sārnāth. Photograph in the Kern Institute, portfolio Sārnāth, N° 24.

160) E.g. a relief in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, originating from Sārnāth, N° S. 4; Catalogue p. 7. Photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Sārnāth, N° 73.

161) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 484, p. 507.

presence of Brahmā and Indra at the Buddha's sides. It was FOUCHER himself who identified the two persons standing at the Buddha's left and right in several scenes of the Master's life as the two great gods of Hinduism:

"... nous avons eu l'occasion de montrer comment telles scènes légendaires recélaient la véritable interprétation des nombreux groupes formés par le Bienheureux entre deux acolytes laïques, et jusqu'ici classés sans distinction sous la rubrique: "Buddha entre deux Bodhisattvas". En fait, quand les trois personnages sont debout, nous avons reconnu qu'il s'agissait d'une "Descente du ciel", détachée de son décor légendaire (cf. I, pp. 538-539 et fig. 7 ou 76, en haut). Quand au contraire le Buddha est assis sur son trône accoutumé, nous avons de même rapporté à l'épisode de "l'Invitation à la prédication" jusqu'aux motifs décoratifs les plus stéréotypés (cf. I, p. 426 et fig. 215)." [162])

"... tandis que le motif de la figure 7" (viz. Bīmarān) "s'inspire visiblement de la „Descente du ciel", celui-ci" (viz. Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī) "rappelle plutôt, avec les tempéraments nécessaires pour transformer une scène légendaire en groupe iconique, le "grand miracle de Çrāvastī"." [163])

The presence of Brahmā and Indra therefore does not seem a special characteristic of the miracle of Śrāvastī. Moreover, we will find these two gods as acolytes of the Master in the oldest images at Mathurā although these representations do not have the specific meaning of the miracle of Śrāvastī [164]). In the Jina images too, we come across Brahmā and Indra as acolytes. In the later art of Guptas and Pālas we see the said gods at the side of the Master in various scenes of his life, e.g. the first preaching, etc., Brahmā mostly characterized by four heads, Indra by his vajra.

It seems to us more probable that the triades of a standing or seated Buddha between Brahmā and Indra are ordinary worshipping scenes, when further indication as to locality and time are lacking as is the case also at Mathurā—as we will see in

162) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 206.
163) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 440.
164) See further Ch. III, pp. 172-177.

Chapter Three—e.g. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 215, p. 427. One can hardly assume that large Buddha images, like those in the Guide's Mess at Mardān and in the Alexander Scott Collection [165]), on which two little figures of Indra and Brahmā can be recognized on the nimbus, would represent the descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven etc. We see no reason whatever to consider the images as more than a representation of the Master; the Buddha is shown in his customary mudrā, the abhayamudrā, and both great gods of Hinduism are seen as adorants on the nimbus.

In short it seems unlikely that the presence of Brahmā and Indra would form an argument for the identification of these reliefs as the miracle of Śrāvastī, as FOUCHER states; Brahmā and Indra had no other function than that of worshippers, thus, as it were, symbolizing the humility of Hinduism to the Master.

But we would even go further than this and put the question whether the two gods at the right and left of the Buddha in those reliefs which FOUCHER identifies as the miracle of Śrāvastī are indeed the two great gods of Hinduism. It is remarkable that in very many cases these two figures are not standing in an attitude of adoration which we would expect from them as adorants. They do not show the añjalimudrā, and are not turned towards the Buddha, but face the observer. Their right hand, if undamaged, is lifted in abhayamudrā. This protective attitude of the hand, assuring fearlessness, is not what we would expect from two adorants, but more from personages important in themselves occupying an independent position in the eyes of the pious Buddhist observer [166]). Moreover their attributes, a book and a long-stemmed lotus-flower, differ from those we are accustomed to find with Brahmā and Indra, viz. the water-flask and thunderbolt [167]). In some cases one even finds that as well as the attributes mentioned

165) See *Ancient Indian and Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures on view at the Gainsborough Studios*, p. 41.

166) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, figs. 405-407, on pp. 205-209.

167) A. FOUCHER, *The Great Miracle at Çrāvastī, The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, Paris-London, 1917, pp. 147-184, esp. pl. XXV. (These images are also reproduced in *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 76 on p. 192 and vol. II, fig. 408 on p. 211.)

a lotus-flower is carried in the other hand or the hand is resting on the hip. Sometimes the book is replaced by a water-flask (see fig. 25).

All in all these peculiarities lead to the conclusion that these two personages are in no case Brahmā and Indra, and this is confirmed by a relief reproduced in fig. 25. Here we see again the three figures under discussion. The figure at our left carries a lotus-flower in his right hand judging by the long pendant stem. His left hand rests on his hip. The figure at our right in this case holds a water-flask in his left hand and probably had his right hand lifted in abhayamudrā before it was broken off. Between these two images and the Buddha in the centre we see again two other figures. The one at the left looks like an ascetic wearing a simple garment without any jewels. His hair is tied into a knot on top of his head. In his left hand he carries a water-flask. The figure at the right is richly dressed wearing many jewels and a magnificent crown studded with precious stones and pearls. In his left hand he carries a vajra. This figure is undoubtedly the god Indra for not only he carries the attribute "par excellence" of this god but also the crown shows that peculiar flat cylindrical form which is distinctive for this god [168]). Now it is obvious to identify the other figure as Brahmā. The ascetic appearance as well as the brahmin water-flask could already have hinted at this.

On account of this identification it is now impossible to label the larger figures at the sides as Brahmā and Indra. Who else could they be then? There is a peculiarity in this class of sculptures which might contribute to their identification. With very few exceptions one finds nearly always a small Buddha figure seated in meditation right above the heads of both figures. On account of the independent and important impression the two figures make on us, as well as the protective attitude of the hands it seems to us we can identify them as Bodhisattvas. The small Buddha figures in dhyānamudrā above their heads could in that case be their

168) See for this A.K. COOMARASWAMY, *Early Indian Iconography, I: Indra, with special reference to "Indra's Visit"*, *Eastern Art*, vol. I, Philadelphia 1928, pp. 33-41.

respective Dhyāni Buddhas. In order to specify the identity of these Bodhisattvas we will have to rely on their attributes, in casu a lotus-flower and a book or water-flask. Probably they can, therefore, be recognized as Padmapāṇi and Maitreya.

As there are numerous other exactly similar triades in which the figures at the sides are standing on lotus-flowers [169]) (which by chance is not the case in the relief reproduced in fig. 25), we can no longer identify all these triades as the miracle of Śrāvastī, but have to label them as a representation of the Buddha (attended by Brahmā and Indra) and two Bodhisattvas.

A second conclusion we have to draw is that the detached images labelled by FOUCHER as Brahmā and Indra [170]) are in fact Bodhisattvas. This is emphasized by the fact that one of those images shows a small adorant or supplicant standing at the feet of this so-called Indra. The unusual representation of a pious Buddhist worshipping the Hindu god Indra is explained if we assume that not Indra but a Bodhisattva is meant.

The fact that images of Bodhisattvas were made as early as the 3rd century A.D. is important in connection with the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

It does not seem probable that Brahmā and Indra are the prototypes of these two Bodhisattvas [171]). The only similarity they show as a couple (not singly therefore) is that Padmapāṇi generally wears a turban and the hair of the other figure is tied into a knot (with some jewels, however, in contrast to Brahmā). In case Indra has been the prototype of a Bodhisattva then it is more likely that he contributed to the conception of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi than to that of Maitreya.

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169) Photographs of these are in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Gandhāra, Nos 265, 267, 268, 273, 274, 277, 278.

170) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, figs. 411-412 on p. 215.

171) VOGEL supposes that Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya as a couple met with in the Bagh Caves can be derived from the triades of Buddha, Brahmā and Indra in Gandhāra. As we have seen that in fact the acolytes are two Bodhisattvas, this supposition does not seem possible. J. PH. VOGEL, *The Sculptures and Paintings, Iconographical Description* in *The Bagh Caves in the Gwalior State*, London 1927, p. 36.

In view of the identification of the discussed figures as Bodhisattvas, and the arguments brought forward in the preceding pages against the identification as the miracle of Śrāvastī of those reliefs pointed out by FOUCHER, it seems to us that we have to be extremely cautious when trying to identify a scene as the miracle of Śrāvastī, and we can only do this when in one and the same relief a number of Buddha figures are represented simultaneously seated on lotus-flowers springing from the lotus on which the central Buddha is seated. That is why, in our opinion, the identification of the fresco in the nave of Cave IX at Ajaṇṭā as the miracle of Śrāvastī is incorrect. The relief on the fourth gallery of Borobudur, of which KROM had already proved that it could not possibly represent the great miracle [172]), was identified by BOSCH as an episode from the Gaṇḍavyūha [173]).

We think we have proved in the preceding pages that also the other sculptures identified by FOUCHER as the miracle of Śrāvastī do not represent that special scene in the Master's life, except for the reliefs reproduced in plates XIX, XX and perhaps also XXI, 2 and XXIII, 1 in the *The Great Miracle at Çrāvastī* [174]).

In connection with the just discussed relief in fig. 25 we would like to broach once more the question of Vajrapāṇi in Gandhāra. Indra and Brahmā with the Buddhists as well as with the Jains at Mathurā and in early India in general were relegated to an inferior position about the same as that of Yakṣas (see the outward appearance of Indra in the relief at Boston, fig. 32). Further MOGGALLĀNA calls Sakka a Yakkha [175]). The Jains who have retained the old names of these acolytes of the Jina as Brahmā and Indra also call them Yakṣas. BUDDHAGHOṢA [176]) as well pictures Indra as a Yakṣa carrying a thunderbolt, as appears from his commentary

172) N. J. KROM, *Barabuḍur, Archaeological Description*, vol. II, the Hague 1927, pp. 85-91.

173) F. D. K. BOSCH, *Het Awatamsakasūtra, de Gaṇḍawyūha en Barabuḍur*, *T.B.G.*, vol. 61, 1922, pp. 268-303, esp. pp. 298 seq.

174) See note 167, p. 134.

175) *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 252. In *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 204-205 Inda (= Indra). Varuṇa, etc. are called Yakkhas.

176) *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 264.

on the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* [177]. An identification of the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi on the reliefs from Gandhāra with the god Indra already represented as a Yakṣa in former days at Mathurā, becomes very tempting in view of all this. Nevertheless there seems to be an objection to an identification of the two figures as one and the same person in the fact that the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi and the god Indra occur two or three times together in one and the same relief. FOUCHER and SENART are therefore of opinion that they are two different persons [178]. Continuing in this line of thought KONOW even supposes that the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, as such, is older still than Indra and goes back to a figure carrying a thunderbolt which contributed to the later conception of Indra in Vedic times [179]. We would rather bring the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi of Gandhāra back to the Yakṣa Indra, as pictured in early Buddhistic and Jainistic circles: the permanent acolyte, worshipper, servant and protector of the Master. When this Yakṣa Indra-Vajrapāṇi begins to be represented in the art of Gandhāra, a real Yakṣa form is given him, rough and fierce. In a masterly way FOUCHER has traced back as far as Hellenistic art the prototypes of this figure in North-West India [180]. In early Mathurā the memory of the function of this Yakṣa Indra-Vajrapāṇi as a god of Hinduism was still vivid: in the art of Gandhāra, his person assumes a decidedly Bacchantic or Herculean form, but in scenes where he visits or worships the Buddha as Śakra, King of the gods, he is represented as a royal person. This explains why FOUCHER and SENART conclude that in the art of Gandhāra we find two different figures. Nevertheless we must assume that in spite of this the Buddhists of North-West India knew that the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi was in essence no one else than god Indra.

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177) *Dīgha Nikāya.* I, 95.

178) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, pp. 562-565 and E. SENART, *Vajrapāṇi dans les sculptures du Gandhāra, Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des Orientalistes Alger 1905*, Paris 1906, pp. 121-131.

179) S. KONOW, *Note on Vajrapāṇi-Indra, Acta Or.*, vol. VIII, 1930, pp. 311-317.

180) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, pp. 48-64.

This is what the very learned BUDDHAGHOṢA realized when he wrote in his commentary on the word "Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi" that as he was swinging the thunderbolt not just some Yakṣa or other was meant by this, but god Indra. It seems to us reversing the matter to explain this passage as a secondary interpretation due to the reaction of orthodox Brahmanism, as KONOW does.

The same thing appears also from the relief in fig. 25. We saw that the Buddha was accompanied by Brahmā and Indra and two Bodhisattvas. Several other reliefs of this class exist in which also one of the figures is clearly Indra indicated by a crown and vajra [181]). But we have found at least four reliefs [182]) in which this same figure is clearly represented as a vajra-bearing Yakṣa with a beard and wild hair. Once having noticed this we will find numerous images in which the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi (= Indra) is represented at the side of the Buddha and an unidentified ascetic figure at his other side. It seems this is the couple Indra-Brahmā. However, the question is not so simple and we intend to return to it more in detail in the near future.

Finally we must mention that three types can be distinguished in the lotus-flowers serving as seats for the Master. Firstly, a type in which the lotus rests, as it were, on three tiny legs. Here the flower has become a lotus-throne [183]). It is probable that the name of padmāsana owes its origin to this fact. Secondly, a type of lotus strongly resembling an artichoke because of its pointed leaves [184]) (see fig. 22). The third type, finally, also occurring in the monastery at Mohṛā Morādu, has flower-petals turned outwards and drooping [185]) (see fig. 21). The fact that this last type occurs at Mohṛā Morādu is once more an argument in favour of the opinion

181) Photographs of these are in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Gandhāra, Nos 266, 271, 273, and 276.

182) Photographs of these are in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Gandhāra, Nos 267, 273, and 274 (on which we see at least three specimens).

183) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 76, p. 192; vol. II, figs. 405, 408, 458 and 459, resp. on pp. 205, 211, 327 and 331.

184) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 79 on p. 197.

185) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 407 on p. 209.

that the Buddhas with dharmacakramudrā do not appear until the later part of the golden age of North-West Indian art, and this might point again to the possibility that the Buddhas with dharmacakramudrā do not appear in Gandhāra until the beginning of the art of the Guptas. We will now leave this discussion of some peculiarities of the later North-West Indian images.

There is one more point to be dealt with in connection with the above: the plastic in stucco discovered in Afghānistān, "inter alia", by the "délégation archéologique française". STRZYGOWSKI dates this art long before the 3rd century A.D., possibly even before the beginning of our era [186]). BACHHOFER has also pointed to the strong resemblance between this art and Hellenistic art of the 2nd century B.C. Nevertheless this author recognizes that the cause of this great resemblance does not lie in the synchronism of both arts: "Die Ähnlichkeit, die im Stil und im Ausdruck der Gesichter vorhanden ist, hat ihre Ursache darin, dass es sich beide Male um eine Spätkunst handelt und, was vielmehr ins Gewicht fällt, in jener überraschenden inneren Verwandschaft des Formgefühls, das die Träger dieser Kunst mit den Abendländern verbindet." [187])

In order to more or less estimate the date of these stuccos from Haḍḍa HACKIN pointed to the resemblance to the art of Taxila on the one side, and to that of Kïzïl on the other, and in this way arrives at an estimation of the 3rd-8th century [188]). In our opinion the stuccos of Haḍḍa are still partly contemporary with the later art of Mohṛā Morādu and especially that of Jauliāñ, and partly later. It is impossible that a considerable lapse of time lies between both groups, and therefore it does not seem quite correct to consider the plastic of Haḍḍa as a separate art, like e.g. Sir JOHN MARSHALL

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186) J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Stuckbildnerei Irans, Belvedere*, vol. X, Wien 1931, Heft 9, pp. 47-56.

187) L. BACHHOFER, *Zur Plastik von Hadda, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. VII, 1931, pp. 106-111, esp. 111. He argued the same thing in *Hellenistisch oder Spät-Gandhāra?, Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, Leipzig 1931, pp. 39-41.

188) J. HACKIN, *Les fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française à Haḍḍa (Afghanistan), R.A.A.*, vol. V, 1928, pp. 66-76.

does, giving it the name of Indo-Afghan School [189]). Although the impression is given that in many respects the modellers of Haḍḍa were original as regards the choice of their subjects and the representation of them, nevertheless several exactly similar representations have been discovered at Taxila. Soldiers and donors with Scythian appearance [190]), monks [191]) and conch-blowers are found there as well. The resemblances as regards the style are also striking, especially in the Buddha heads: the oval shape of the face, the straight long nose, oblong half-closed eyes, finely edged eyebrows, sharp line of the forehead with often a deep sharply pointed curve in the middle from whence the slightly wavy hair spreads over the head. The prominent resemblance especially between the Buddha heads is explained by the fact that the representation of the Master was rather strictly canonized already. Nevertheless, the qualities mentioned are too pronounced to permit a denial that the art of Haḍḍa is partly contemporary with, and partly forms a continuation of North-West Indian art from the end of the 4th and the 5th century. WALDSCHMIDT has pointed to the resemblance between the foundation-plan of the complex at Tapa Kalan, the stūpa where BARTHOUX found the numerous stucco fragments, and the complex at Jauliāñ [192]); furthermore he calls attention to the deposit of coins, found by MASSON in stūpa 10, alias "Tope Kelān". The dates of the coins continued until 474 A.D. [193]). It seems to us that these are arguments enough to exclude the possibility of an early date for the stucco fragments, as for instance STRZYGOWSKI suggests.

Among the discoveries at Haḍḍa are some Buddha heads which do not show so strongly these resemblances to the stucco plastic from Taxila. The qualities more prominent in these heads are

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189) Lastly in his review of BUCHTHAL's *The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture, J.R.A.S.*, 1946, pp. 116-122, esp. p. 119.

190) See J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed., pl. XXIII.

191) See L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 154, fig. 2.

192) E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Stuckplastik der Gandhāra-Schule, Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. LIII, Heft I, Berlin 1932, pp. 2-9, esp. pp. 7 and 8.

193) H. H. WILSON, *Ariana antiqua*, London 1841, p. 119.

especially the following ones: the shape of the face is rounder, the chin especially shows a soft rounding and is rather full, the mouth is very small and shows dimpled corners as the cheeks are very thick. The hair is often represented in a very impressionistic way by means of round imprints or undulating lines scratched into the surface. The eyebrows run very high over the forehead and have become two semi-circles [194]). It is possible that the heads, showing these qualities, belong to the later period of Haḍḍa. In any case their characteristics very strongly point to the direction of the later art-centres of Central Asia, the crucible of so many religions and artistic elements, the cradle of Buddhist art of the Far East. Nevertheless we would not dare to subscribe to such a late date as the 8th century A.D., as HACKIN seems to advocate, as apart from a few Buddha figures there is nevertheless, generally speaking, too little resemblance between this art from Afghānistān and that from the Tarim Basin of the 8th century, and on the other hand a too large resemblance to later Gandhāra art. That is why a rough dating of 400 A.D. up to and including the 7th century seems to us more cautious. But here we immediately touch upon something with which we should like to close our discussion.

This point is, that it is very difficult, even almost unfeasible, to mention a somewhat clearly defined date for the rise and decay of North-West Indian art. Sometimes the period just before the invasion of the White Huns is mentioned as the time of decay. Nevertheless we would not dare to call Gandhāra art in the 4th century decadent, and so, in our opinion, it is less correct to talk about decay. Moreover it appears that part of this art survives the invasion of the White Huns, viz. in Afghānistān, and does not show any phenomena of decay, while it even often creates the impression of being a new, young school of art. In our opinion the best way is to steer a middle course between the two extremes, either taking the art of Haḍḍa to be a school in itself, or to be one and the same with that of Gandhāra. Our point of view there-

194) J. J. BARTHOUX, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, Figures et Figurines, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan,* tome III, Paris 1930, pl. 15 and 28, a, in contrast with pl. 1 and 25.

fore is that the art of Haḍḍa is partly contemporary with, and the same as Gandhāra art, and partly a continuation, a later development of it. Likewise there will probably have existed a gradual transition between the sculptures, as we know them from Haḍḍa and later Central Asiatic art from the Basin of the Tarim. The stuccos we should prefer to date rather in the later period of Haḍḍa, in our opinion point to this surmise. It is clear how difficult it is at this state of affairs to give a date for the end of Gandhāra art. Somewhere in the course of development every investigator finds a point, where, in his personal opinion, so little of Gandhāra can still be found that he considers it as ended. But the exact determination of this point is something very subjective and entirely depends on the stress laid on the survival of some motif or other, or some peculiarity of style. From a remark by FOUCHER it appears how far by this subjectivity the point in question can drift apart from the starting-point, in this case the Hellenism of the Mediterranean:

"Par un phénomène fort surprenant, quand on songe à l'éloignement océanique du pays et à la date relativement tardive des oeuvres (IXe siècle), les sculpteurs javanais sont, après les sculpteurs gandhāriens, les meilleurs élèves que les maîtres hellénistiques aient jamais eus dans l'Orient de l'Asie: du moins il n'en est pas qui aient mieux conservé l'esprit des ateliers antiques et continué à faire un plus adroit usage de leurs secrets." [195])

Perhaps the most cautious thing to be said is that Gandhāra art gradually develops and changes into Central Asiatic art [196]), and that the end of Gandhāra art takes place during that process.

To fix the end is as difficult as to find the beginning. We have amply discussed this at the beginning of this Chapter already. In this case as well it is impossible to say exactly when the first

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195) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 768.

196) How strongly the Buddha image especially reminds us of what we know from Gandhāra and Afghānistān, surely appears from a figure from Chotscho, dated in the 9th-10th century, reproduced in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, pl. 65 and A. VON LE COQ, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. I, *Die Plastik*, pl. 38.

work that should be counted to Gandhāra art, and no longer to the period of import or copies of Hellenistic wares has come into existence. There must have been a transition-period in which fewer copies were made, as the people had gradually built up their own style and a store of ideas and motifs, be it with the help of Hellenistic examples. This transition-period probably starts as early as the reign of the Parthian kings, then continues during that of the Kadphises monarchs, when, as we have already said, there will presumably not have been much room for art, and it may have advanced so far under the reign of Kaniṣka that something specific could be stated, be it still with rather strong Hellenistic influences. It is by no means impossible that this young art was indeed protected and furthered by the Emperor Kaniṣka, as tradition will have it. The outcome of the process would be that which we meet as a separate independent art in the reliefs of building L at Taxila after about half a century. The tradition about Kaniṣka as the promotor of arts and literature wholly fits in with the framework of Gandhāra art as built up in the preceding Chapter. It would not be the first time that tradition appears to be based on historic grounds.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BUDDHA AND JINA IMAGE IN THE KUṢĀṆA ART OF MATHURĀ

सर्वेषां दैवतीर्थानां माथुरं परमं महत्

Mathurā, Muttra at present, a centre of Viṣṇuism because of the large part the town played in the life of Kṛṣṇa, was an important place even in ancient times. This was chiefly owing to its favourable geographical situation. Not only was it situated on the important river Jumna, but it also formed, as it were, the centre of its geographical environment, the Doab or the two-rivers land, formed by Ganges and Jumna. It was, moreover, situated on the commercial routes from North-West India to the plains of the Ganges and the western coast. As early as the first times after the invasion of the Aryans into India, when they had not yet pushed on to the Ganges-delta itself, Mathurā was probably already a place of some importance. Owing to the situation, so extremely favourable for trade, it must soon have become a prosperous centre. And wherever money is earned by trade, people can afford the luxury of art. It is proved not only by Mathurā, but also by a town like Vidiśā, the present Bhilsā, that besides residences where a monarch had the disposal of money, commercial cities were also art-centres. Here too was a junction of caravan roads on the commercial route from the Ganges Basin to the western coast, a town full of rich merchants with money available for luxuries.

Besides being a trade-centre, Mathurā was for a while in historic times the residence of the Sūrasenas, as MEGASTHENES tells us [1]), and according to the *Mahābhāṣya* also of the Pañcālas [2]),

1) MEGASTHENES, *Indica*, 50, 13, cf. 56, 13.

2) E. W. HOPKINS, *The great Epic of India, its Character and Origin*, London 1901, p. 395, note 1. Perhaps the word *pāṃcālīye* in the inscription published by RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, *New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period* in

so that there is reason enough to expect fragments from the very early periods of Indian art in that region. And so it is not surprising that as soon as we see the first images of lasting material emerge from the gray mists of prehistoric times, some of these originate from the environment of Mathurā or from the place itself. To these oldest products of Indian art, originating from Mathurā, belong e.g. the Yakṣas, found at Pārkham and at Barodā [3]), both villages in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. But not only art of the Śuṅga time and somewhat later is found there. The town remains a permanent prospering centre of trade and so of art as well. Its fame did not only spread all over India itself, but its repute also passed the frontiers, so that in the West we hear, via ARRIANUS, MEGASTHENES talk about it. PTOLEMY [4]) mentions the town as one of the large centres of North India: **Μοδούρα ἡ τῶν θεῶν.** What this addition means exactly, is not altogether certain. "Mathurā, town of the Gods" would be the most simple translation. TARN's opinion was that it would mean "Mathurā, daughter of the Gods" [5]), in which this "daughter" would be a reminiscence of a town-goddess in the Greek sense. Should we see in this addition simply an indication of the fact that it was a large religious centre? Or is there more behind it, as was TARN's opinion? Be that as it may, even if only the first is true, it is indeed a confirmation of what we know from other sources also.

Ep. Ind., vol. X, 1909-'10, pp. 106-121, esp. pp. 107-108 is a confirmation of this; also published by the same author under the name of R. D. BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, in *The Discovery of Seven New-dated Records of the Scythian Period, J.A.S.B.*, New Series, vol. V, 1909, pp. 271-277, esp. pp. 271-272. Unfortunately the origin of the inscription is not definite as LÜDERS demonstrates in his article *On some Brahmi Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 153-179, esp. pp. 175-176.

3) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā, Ars Asiatica*, vol. XV, Paris 1930, pl. XLII and XLIII, a. Two other images from the neighbourhood of Mathurā are described and depicted in: V. S. AGRAWALA, *Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathurā, Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, vol. VI, 1933, pp. 81-120, esp. figs. 1-3, 6, 9-10; henceforth abbreviated *J.U.P.H.S.*

4) PTOLEMY, Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις, VII, 1, § 50, ed. L. RENOU, Paris 1925, p. 23.

5) TARN, pp. 251-253.

The oldest images we find at Mathurā indicate a Yakṣa service, as was professed at other places in India. This does not mean that other religions, like Jainism and Buddhism, were not professed by a large number of people as well. In the earliest times, however, these religions did not yet use images for worship, and so it is impossible for us to ascertain their presence. The first proof of the existence of Jainism is the inscription on the āyāgapaṭa of the woman Āmohinī (see fig. 29). These āyāgapaṭas were relief-plaques made of stone, decorating a stūpa all round. A number of these have been found again by VINCENT SMITH at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā near Mathurā, together with many other Jainistic relics [6]. Several of these āyāgapaṭas bear a votary inscription mentioning the name of the donor.

The āyāgapaṭa dedicated by Āmohinī, however, has a special importance because it is the only dated āyāgapaṭa known up till now. It shows us a female figure, accompanied by some servants. According to BACHHOFER [7] she represents the goddess Āryavatī. Our first impression was that with *āryavatī* mentioned twice in the end of the inscription, not a further unknown goddess Āryavatī, but the slab itself was meant. For when the verb *pratiṣṭhāpayati* is used and the object is an image of some god or the Buddha, the word *pratimā* is always added. The explanation we planned to give therefore was that *āryavatī* was a shorter form for *ārya(ga)vatī,* as shorter syllables can be dropped [8]), and that *āryavatī* might be a word for the stone slabs put up around a stūpa, a parallel to *āyāgapaṭa.* This hypothesis now seems confirmed as we found an inscription on an *āyāgapaṭa* published by BANERJI in which the slab in question is called an *āyapaṭo* [9]). Hence *āryavatī* = *āyapaṭa* = *āyāgapaṭa,* and consequently the female figure in the relief on the slab of Āmohinī is not an unknown

6) VINCENT SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series,* vol. XX, Allahabad 1901.

7) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* vol. II, pl. 74, and the description there.

8) R. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,* Strassburg 1900, § 148.

9) R. D. BANERJI, *Some Sculptures from Kosam, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1913-'14, pp. 262-264. The difference in the writing of *ī* and *ō* is very slight in this script.

goddess Āryavatī. Now this āryavatī of Āmohinī is consecrated during the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa in the year 72 [10]) of the old era, that is, 57 B.C. So the existence is proved of a Jaina stūpa—judging from the fragments very beautifully decorated—before the middle of the 1st century B.C. [11]).

Incidentally, it may be remarked here that the other āyāgapaṭas found by SMITH mostly show a decorative design, built up of several holy symbols, which are often also represented along the edge of the plaque (see frontispiece), while specimens exist showing a stūpa with or without toraṇa and railing [12]).

Although HSÜAN TSANG says that in his time three stūpas of Aśoka still existed at Mathurā, we do not possess such old relics of Buddhist art [13]). But we do know by an inscription that there were Buddhists at Mathurā as early as the 1st century B.C. On the Lion Capital, for instance, the deposit is mentioned of a relic of the Buddha and the erection of a stūpa and a saṃghārāma for the benefit of the sect of the Sarvāstivādins [14]). The Lion Capital may be dated about the year 60 of the old era, that is ± 69 B.C. So as early as about 69 B.C. there were Buddhists at Mathurā. Probably one of the oldest Buddhist works of art is the fragment of a vedikā, now in the Museum at Calcutta, the origin of which unfortunately is not known but which probably hails from Mathurā, as it bears a Buddhistic inscription in Brāhmī, mentioning Kuṣāṇas [15]). The writing is palaeographically equal to that of

10) For particulars concerning the date we point to the Appendix to Chapter I.

11) From the inscription LÜDERS' *List* N° 47 it appears that this stūpa was called Vodva stūpa and was said to have been built by the gods. In the first half of the 14th century this stūpa was still one of the best known Jainistic shrines, witness JINAPRABHA's *Tīrthakalpa,* also called *Rājaprasāda,* see G. BÜHLER, *A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Wien 1897, Phil.-hist. Classe, vol. 137, N° II, Wien 1898.

12) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *H.I.I.A.,* fig. 72; *Origin Buddha Image,* fig. 41; L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 91; J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. V, b, VI, a and LIV, b.

13) HSÜAN TSANG, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World,* transl. by S. BEAL, London 1906, vol. I, p. 180; in the French transl. by STANISLAS JULIEN, *Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales,* Paris 1857-'58, vol. I, p. 208.

14) *Corpus,* pp. 30-50, esp. 49 and 50.

15) RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA in *A.S.I.A.R.,* 1923-'24, section IV,

the Jaina āyāgapaṭas and the symbols also are the same as those we find on them, so that the piece probably dates from the second half of the 1st century B.C. Nevertheless we get the impression that at Mathurā the community of Jainas was larger than that of the Buddhists. Perhaps this is due to the fact that up till now, especially from the Kuṣāṇa and Post-Kuṣāṇa periods, more objects of art and inscriptions originating from Jaina sanctuaries have been preserved for us [16]). In this connection it is perhaps interesting to draw attention to the fact which the Chinese version of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* tells us about Kaniṣka's journey from the Basin of the Ganges back to North-West India, viz. that the great Emperor went through a wide flat country where he saw a beautiful caitya of the Jainas, to which he paid homage as he thought it to be a Buddhist stūpa. KONOW supposed that this caitya was possibly the same as the one of which the remains have been found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā [17]).

So Mathurā was even then very famous as a centre of the Jainas. And so it has remained for a considerable time, judging from the many Jina images of later date. Proportionately the number of Jina images from the reign of Vāsudeva and half a century after is much larger than the number of Buddhas. Of course it may be a freak of fate that has given us more Jina images than Buddhas from that time, but still the phenomenon is too striking to be overlooked. During the reign of King Kaniṣka the number of Buddhist relics from the school of Mathurā increases, and in this phenomenon we may see proof of the correctness of the tradition that Kaniṣka greatly protected Buddhism. Indeed it is in the beginning of his reign that we come across the first dated Buddha from Ma-

Museums, p. 101 and pl. XXXV, fig. 1; J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XIII.

16) Of the 132 inscriptions from Mathurā mentioned in LÜDERS' *List*, 84 are Jainistic while 15 do not mention a particular creed and only 33 are Buddhistic.

17) *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* by KUMĀRALĀTA, transl. by KUMĀRAJĪVA. The same story in the Chinese translation of AŚVAGHOṢA's *Sūtrālaṃkāra* by KUMĀRAJĪVA, S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, I: Les contes, J.A.*, 9e série, tome VIII, 1896, pp. 457-463, Eng. transl. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 32, 1903, p. 385 and in the edition by E. HOUBER, Paris 1908, pp. 158-163.

thurā, viz. the one found at Kauśāmbī [18]). The sculpture, like that from Sārnāth [19]), clearly originates from a workshop at Mathurā, judging from the style and the kind of stone. Not without reason had the school of Mathurā gained a great reputation in the past century. The Buddha of Sārnāth was consecrated by the monk Bala in the year 3 of the era of Kaniṣka, that of Kauśāmbī by the nun Buddhamitrā in the year 2, i.e. in the years 81 and 80 A.D. respectively. Still there are Buddhas which, judging from the style, are older than these images. For instance, the other standing Buddha at Sārnāth [20]), which is decidedly clumsy in the manner of portraying the folds over the chest.

The seated Buddha found at Kaṭrā (see fig. 31) has been compared with the standing Buddha of Brother Bala, and on grounds of style and palaeography scholars came to the conclusion that the first image must be approximately contemporary with this last [21]). The standing and seated Buddhas from Mathurā belonging to this period correspond to a definite type (see figs. 30 and 31), which we will discuss in more detail further on and from which as a rule they deviate only slightly. Now the fact that the Buddha of Kaṭrā bears no date is exceptional and is, in our opinion, a possible indication of its being made before Kaniṣka came to the throne, for, as we will see further on, the images made during his reign, or that of his successors, as a rule only omit the date when there is no space on the rim of the pedestal for a long inscription. That was certainly not the case here as part of the lower plinth has been left blank. Our attention being drawn by the Buddha of Kaṭrā to the fact that the possibility exists that Buddhas were already made at Mathurā before Kaniṣka, we noticed the following: To begin with it is striking how much Buddhism and Jainism go together in their expressions of art. This is so true that in early art one very

18) KUNJA GOBINDA GOSWAMI, *Kosam Inscription of (the reign of) Kanishka: the year 2, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 24, 1938, pp. 210-212 with plate.

19) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXVIII, a.

20) J. PH. VOGEL, ibidem, pl. XXVIII, b. See further p. 161.

21) See for instance: J. PH. VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad 1910, p. 49; henceforth abbreviated as *Cat. Museum Math.*; *La sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 36.

often does not know with which religion one is dealing unless it is expressly stated by an inscription. An interesting example in this connection is the error of Kaniṣka mentioned by the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* [22]). Above we have already pointed out the similarity of the symbols, but the architecture as well is absolutely identical. Both build stūpas surrounded by railings with toraṇas. Both decorate their buildings in the same way. Consequently āyāga-paṭas are also known from Buddhist stūpas, viz. of Amarāvatī on the Kistnā.

But even afterwards, when the image enters into religious worship, it is still often difficult to distinguish a Jina from a Buddha when some characteristics have been lost. So we see that both religions show a close relation in their expressions of art [23]). The reason is that early Indian art has never been sectarian. Proof of this we find in the Hindu impression given by the images in the Buddhist monastery at Bhājā [24]) and, in general, in the representation of Yakṣiṇīs on the stone railings round the stūpas of Bharhut and Mathurā, which do not give a Buddhistic impression [25]). That is why Sir JOHN MARSHALL said of the sculpture of Sanchi (and in our opinion that holds good with regard to all sculpture of early Indian art):

"The art of Mālwā was not, like the art of Gandhāra, an ecclesiastic art; it was developed and sustained by the patronage of the wealthy citizens of Vidiśā and Ujjayinī, who might or might not be Buddhists, and it was used for secular purposes. From time to time it was impressed into the service of the Buddhist Church, and on these occasions it was dressed up, as far as possible, in a Buddhist garb and labelled with the sacred sign and emblems that were familiar to the Faithful, such as the dharmachakra, triratna and

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22) See p. 149.

23) And even in religious ideas and customs, witness the use in both sects of the expression: "Sarvasattvānaṃ hitasukhāye".

24) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 24-27.

25) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XVII-XIX; B. BARUA, *Barhut*, vol. III, *Aspects of Life and Art, Indian Research Institute Publications, Fine Art Series*, N° III, Calcutta 1937, pl. LXIII-LXV.

śrīvatsa [26]), but for all that there was no real change in its essentially mundane character, and we must not therefore be shocked when we encounter erotic scenes among these reliefs and women whose nudity is accentuated rather than hidden by the transparency of their robes. Such scenes and figures were flagrantly opposed to every principle of the Śākya faith, and it is probable that there were few among the Buddhist sects of this period who were hardy or lax enough in their outlook to admit this worldly sort of art into their monasteries. One thing, however, is certain: that, if they admitted it at all, they had to take it as they found it; they could not rid it of its worldliness or expurgate it at will to suit the pietism of the cloister. Whatever compromise there might have to be, must come from the Church itself not from art." [27])

Or as COOMARASWAMY says:

"The art of Sāñcī is not, as art, created or inspired by Buddhism, but is early Indian art adapted to edifying ends, and therewith retaining its own intrinsic qualities." [28])

BÜHLER says more especially with regard to the art of Buddhists and Jains:

"... the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic motives and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists." [29])

So we see that early Indian art has never been sectarian and therefore it is impossible to talk of Jainistic or Buddhistic art in those very first schools of art. At most, every religion had definite subjects that were preferably represented or purposely not represented. But in itself the sculptors of the various religions had the same original source.

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26) And even those symbols were not typically Buddhistic [J. E. v. L.-D. L.].

27) J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sanchi,* 3rd ed., Delhi 1936, pp. 83-84.

28) *H.I.I.A.*, p. 36.

29) G. BÜHLER, *Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurā, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, pp. 311-323, esp. p. 322.

Now, as said before, we know of the existence of a prospering Jain community in the year 57 B.C. The oldest Jina images also originate from about that time. Several āyāgapaṭas namely, show a circle in the middle of which a small Jina figure is seated (see frontispiece and fig. 28). These are the āyāgapaṭas which we mentioned before on p. 148 and which are in any case contemporary with the Āmohinī āyāgapaṭa, possibly even a little earlier, judging from the palaeography.

LAUFER has stressed the fact that Buddhism might have been strongly influenced by Jainism [30]). This might very well have been possible at Mathurā with its influential Jain community, but even if that is not the case the fact remains that, as we saw before, the expressions of art of the two religions closely corresponded. So it seems not too hazardous to leave room for the possibility that in the second half of the 1st century B.C. besides Jina figures also Buddha images existed. On the reliefs of Sanchi the latest parts of which are estimated at ± 50 B.C., the Master has not yet been represented, so there seems to be no objection to this opinion.

Before continuing our argument we must now first discuss another point. The standing type of Buddha, like the image in fig. 30 or those of Sārnāth, shows the following typical peculiarities which rightly caused COOMARASWAMY [31]) to explain this type as having arisen from that used up till then for Yakṣas and other supernatural beings. (Personally we would rather explain the Buddha image as derived from the King type, but in essence this does not greatly differ from COOMARASWAMY's explanation [32])).

To begin with, the pose of the body: frontal, the legs slightly

30) B. LAUFER in his publication of the *Citralakṣaṇa* says e.g. "... wir werden wohl auch in der buddhistischen Kunst mit Jaina Einflüssen zu rechnen haben .... Vieles, was uns bisher in der buddhistischen Kunst rätselhaft geblieben ist, wird mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit darauf zurückzuführen sein", B. LAUFER, *Das Citralakshaṇa nach dem Tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt, Dokumente der Indischen Kunst,* Heft I, Leipzig 1913, pp. 17-18.

31) *Origin Buddha Image.*

32) In fact the clothes of the Buddha do not differ from those of well to do lay-people, who also wore a thin robe thrown across the left shoulder and gathered up by the left hand as shown by the lay-adorants on a pedestal of a Buddha image from the year 7 in the Museum at Mathurā, N° add. 635, repro-

apart; further, the attitude of the hands, his right hand lifted in abhayamudrā on a level with the shoulder, the left one clenched on the hip. Finally, the clothes: a girdle tied round the waist, while the lappets of the knot hang down on and over his right thigh. This girdle holds up the undergarment, which shows a large number of fine pleats between the legs. Over all this a very thin upper-garment, going across the chest to his left shoulder, while the lowest hem of the garment is lifted by his left hand, so that a thick roll of fine pleats is formed falling down along the body over the wrist of his left hand placed on the left hip. On his left shoulder the material also wrinkles up into a number of fine pleats.

When we compare these peculiarities of the image in fig. 30 with images such as the Yakṣa in fig. 38 and the Nāgas reproduced by VOGEL [33]) and COOMARASWAMY [34]), then we will see how great the similarity is, and therefore we agree with COOMARASWAMY that the Buddha type has been derived from the Yakṣa type. But we wish to point out that, while this holds good for the standing Buddha, it is only partly true of the seated type. As far as we know there exist no Yakṣa images in a seated position. When seated, the Buddha is represented as an ascetic in meditative attitude, and here no other tradition in plastic arts can have had any influence than nature's own example. Figures in this pose are represented in the early Central Indian school, as, for instance, on the railings of Bharhut [35]), but there it was always the intention to represent ascetics, brahmins, hermits or at least persons in meditation, and never Yakṣas.

Looking at these early ascetic figures, we are struck by the clumsy way in which the crossed legs are represented. We look down as it were on top of the legs. In the oldest Buddhas, for instance that of Kaṭrā, the sculptor has a thorough command of this problem and here we do not even feel that there had been

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duced in J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-'10, pl. XXIV, c.

33) J. PH. VOGEL, *Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathurā, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1908-'09, pp. 159-163, pl. LIV, a.

34) *Origin Buddha Image,* fig. 49.

35) Ibidem, figs. 25 and 27.

any difficulty with this. It is clear that images like that of Kaṭrā are preceded by a whole line of development. Although we would not emphatically assert that Buddha images therefore were in vogue a long time before the image of Kaṭrā was made, still this seems very probable; but we must not exclude the possibility that that line of development in the seated ascetic figure was enacted outside Buddhism. In that case only Jainism remains as a possibility, and we have already seen that in this religion images were used even in the middle of the 1st century B.C.

Let us look for a moment at those oldest Jina figures more accurately (see for instance fig. 28): they are sitting in dhyānamudrā, as it seems, sometimes on a cushion, resting on a pedestal borne by a wide support in the middle, the whole thing probably an altar. Over the head is a parasol, from which two garlands hang down. Behind one of the figures an open lotus is blooming [36]). The legs are depicted in almost the same way as those of the ascetics at Bharhut.

These āyāgapaṭas date from the time when in Jainism people began to incline towards representing the Jina side by side with the symbols customary of old. On one specimen we see for example, besides two Jina figures, one in the middle and one beneath in the circle, a Bodhi-tree and a high, slim stūpa in the circular border. In the second half of the 1st century B.C. the Jina was therefore depicted side by side with the symbols which formerly substituted him.

A small figure, showing a very strong resemblance to the little Jina images and probably one of the oldest Buddha figures known up till now, is represented on the middle of a cross-bar of a toraṇa [37]) for the central part of one side of which see fig. 35. The piece is also made in the transition-period between language in symbols and human representation of the Buddha, as appears from both ends of the bar [38]) on which we find several symbols, for instance the dharmacakra, a kumbha with lotus-flowers (bhadra-

36) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. LIV, b. See further pp. 215 seq.
37) Mathurā Museum, N° M. 3.
38) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. VII.

ghaṭa) and a building [39]), while in the middle of the back of the cross-bar the Bodhi-temple with the Bodhi-tree inside is venerated by a large group of adorants. That Buddha is meant here by the seated figure in the centre of the bar appears from the rest of the scene, clearly representing Indra to the right (known by the high mitre on his head) with some apsaras and elephants, to the left Pañcaśikha with six more celestial nymphs. The Buddha who is rather corpulent, is seated in a cave, indicated very impressionistically. The pose of his legs and feet is again very clumsily represented. He is wearing a thin, cobwebby garment across the chest which leaves his right shoulder bare. The navel is visible through the garment. At the calves the hem of the dress is to be seen. It seems as if a pleated piece of the garment comes out right in the middle from under the legs. Clearly visible again is the thick roll of material over the left shoulder. His right hand is lifted in abhayamudrā. The other hand is lying in the lap with the palm downwards. On the head the uṣṇīṣa is visible.

We see that several of the peculiarities characterizing the national Buddha of the Kaṭrā type are already present here, but the little figure is not yet strictly canonized as during the reign of Kaniṣka, which appears from the fact that the left hand, for instance, is not yet put on the left knee.

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39) We suppose that this is an already strongly developed stage of the stūpa. It is known of the stūpa of Kaniṣka that it was a very high building. So this kind of monument passed through a quick development in the centuries about the beginning of our era. If our supposition is correct, then the building is a symbol for the Nirvāṇa. The humble attitude of the two adorants could also point to this. Similar high buildings with round dome-shaped roofs are represented on a stambha and a tympan in VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXIII, c and LV, b. These, however, seem rather shrines for an image. This last possibility arises from the fact, that the stūpa-drum from Dhruv Ṭīlā (Mus. Math. N° N. 2, V. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā,* pl. CVII) shows a Buddha figure seated in a similar building. Now this relief probably represents the Buddha seated in the Gandhakuṭī (J. PH. VOGEL, *Études de sculpture bouddhique, III: Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Dhruv Ṭīlā, Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient,* vol. VIII, Hanoi 1908, pp. 492-500, esp. p. 497; henceforth abbreviated as *B.E.F.E.O.*) and as the doors on pl. XXIII, c and LV, b are not very suitable for a stūpa, we therefore prefer an explanation of these buildings as shrines, perhaps the Gandhakuṭī.

Our opinion that the piece dates from about the same time as the āyāgapaṭas is strengthened further by some other points of resemblance which the piece shows with the āyāgapaṭas; the masculine and feminine figures, represented at both sides of the relief as adorants, have a shawl thrown round their shoulders, standing out widely from the neck, and falling down in standing-out pleats, where it is blown away slightly from the body. It is the same shawl we see worn by the flying celestials above the Buddha of Kaṭrā in later times, then, however, not with the same fluttering pleat beneath. The same dress is also shown by the figures on the tympan from Mathurā [40]). Here also the typical shawl with the out-blowing ends. This piece still shows symbols as substitutes for the Buddha and consequently belongs to a very early period. Now one of the āyāgapaṭas shows figures, namely, in the circular band around the motif in the middle, the shawls of which flutter in exactly the same way [41]). More points of resemblance could be enumerated, as, for instance, form and decoration of the wings of the mythical figures at the ends of the cross-bar, resembling that of the griffin [42]), which must date from the same period as the āyāgapaṭas, judging from the decoration of the garland round its neck, applied also in the nandipada-symbols appearing in the āyāgapaṭa of the frontispiece, and the frequent use of pearled frames, while the lion as a whole resembles those depicted on the āyāgapaṭas as capitals of the colums at the right and left. However, we will leave it at that.

The cross-bar dates from the transition-period between symbols and representation in human form of the Master, as do the āyāgapaṭas which also represent Jina figures as well as symbols.

Another relief on a stambha in the Museum at Mathurā is connected with this very early Buddha figure on the toraṇa-post [43]) (see fig. 27). On the photograph in the Kern Institute the piece

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40) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. LV, b.
41) Ibidem, pl. LIV, b.
42) Ibidem, pl. XXV.
43) Mathurā Museum, N° H. 12.

is described as "a seated Jina on a throne, supported by two lions, worshippers on either side". Rightly it should be a Buddha. In favour of this, in the first place, is the throne with the lions. In the second place the fact that the figure shows the abhayamudrā, which the Jina images never do, while the Buddhas on the other hand only later display the dhyānamudrā, which is always shown by all Jina figures. On the head the uṣṇīṣa is to be seen; that this too is an argument we will see proved further on [44]). Then the figure is dressed in a garment the seam of which goes across the chest. The Jina images are always completely naked with (often) the śrīvatsa-symbol on the chest. The adorants rightly are the four lokapālas, each holding a mendicant's bowl in his hands, and so the whole scene must be identified as the offering of the four mendicant's bowls [45]). That the relief is very early appears—apart from the old-fashioned form of the pedestal, or seat, showing a strong resemblance to the seat of the Jinas on the āyāgapaṭas (something like an altar)—from the over-slender figure of the lokapālas, which we always see on the early toraṇas and tympans as well.

A last piece deserving our attention is a relief found by FÜHRER on the hill of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (see textfig. 10). According to the finder it is a Jainistic representation, showing us Vardhamāna holding a devotional conversation with a king. We do not understand clearly on which grounds FÜHRER bases his identification of the relief. As far as we are able to check, this identification is founded only on the evidence of the place of discovery. In our opinion, however, this in itself is not necessarily an argument for the Jainistic character of the piece. Not only could a similar small fragment be easily transported from the Buddhistic complex at Bhūtesar, lying in the immediate neighbourhood, but a considerable number of Buddhistic pieces have been found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā,

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44) See pp. 167-168.

45) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. LV and LVII. After finishing this book we found a confirmation of our opinion in the fact, that VOGEL gave the same identification of the scene in *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I. A.R.,* 1909-'10, p. 71. The relief was also discussed by V. S. AGRAWALA, *Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathurā, J.U.P.H.S.,* vol. VI, 1933, pp. 81-120, esp. p. 108.

as well as a great many Jainistic fragments [46]). COOMARASWAMY always says that in the beginning not only Buddhas wear an uṣṇīṣa on the head but Jinas also, so at the moment we would not like to



Textfig. 10. Relief found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā
(The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā)

put this forward as an argument [47]). Another point is that the figure to the right is dressed in the clothes of those days, while as we know Vardhamāna is always represented naked. On the chest the śrīvatsa-symbol is missing. Finally there is the question whether it was the custom with the early Jainas to reproduce scenes from

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46) At least if the identification of the pieces is correct. We cannot check this here. See the lists in V. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā.* Mr. RAMACHANDRAN of the Arch. Surv. kindly informs us that again in 1943 numerous Buddhistic reliefs were found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

47) See, however, pp. 167-168.

the life of Mahāvīra. That this was customary with the Buddhists even in very early times appears from the many representations of Buddha's life at Sanchi. This custom is continued later on, when only the symbols are substituted by representation in human form of the Master. Early representations of the life of Mahāvīra are, however, not known to us. The reliefs found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā which are not decorative but represent a little scene, are mostly Buddhistic [48]), or else they represent pious laymen who have given a donation, in which case the reliefs need not be Jainistic either. So if the piece under discussion was Jainistic, it would, in our opinion, be a great exception. However, it seems better to designate the piece as Buddhistic for the present. In that case the scene could for instance represent the meeting of Buddha with King Śuddhodana. In our opinion there can "a priori" be no objection to identify the figure to the right of the relief as the Buddha, for the place of discovery does not invalidate this, and several positive arguments could be put forward.

As we see, the Buddha and the King both wear a like garment which proves our opinion about the origin of the Buddha image [49]): a dhoṭī, a roll of material round the waist, the ends of which fall down in close pleats. This is the same piece of pleating we saw coming out from under the folded legs of the seated Buddha on the toraṇa-bar and which is also typical of the seated Buddhas in later times; there is no sign of a girdle. Over his left shoulder is a thin, closely folded shawl, thrown over the back and front and hanging down in a loop over his left wrist. This is the customary robe shown by all laymen on the older reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi. The monarch is distinguished from the Buddha by rich ornaments and a large turban. He has lain his right hand on his breast in humility. His servants behind him are wearing a similar garment, but are bareheaded. One of them has the hands in añjali. Another is holding up a sunshade. All persons are rather corpulent; the navel is a deep hollow in the abdomen, just above

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48) For instance: J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. LII, b.
49) See p. 153.

the upper hem of the garment. The first quality especially distinguishes the panel from later reliefs. In the national Buddha type at Mathurā the deep navel always remains one of the striking characteristics. The corpulency, however, which disappeared later on, is indeed a characteristic of the old Yakṣa images from the centuries B.C., as for instance those of Pārkham [50]), Pawāyā [51]) and Patna [52]). Therefore the theory of COOMARASWAMY, that the Buddha type is derived from the Yakṣa images, is once more confirmed.

Besides the corpulency of the figure there is one more peculiarity, pointing to the fact that we here meet with one of the most ancient Buddha representations, viz. that the shawl is still thrown round the shoulders like a roll of material, exactly as worn by the lay-figures. On later images in relief we always see this thin material spread over the undergarments and the chests of Buddhas as well as of laymen. A first attempt to reproduce this transparent cloth over the whole body by means of scratched-in lines is seen in the Buddha from Sārnāth [53]). Finally the form of the capitals of the columns flanking the relief formerly at both sides also probably points to an early date. The hatched part, borne by the griffin, simply goes slantingly aloft, while we have noticed that in later times it curls round against the upper beam.

After thus having accounted for considering the Buddha on this relief as one of the very oldest representations of the Master, we now return to the description of the relief. The company seems to come out from a gateway to meet the Buddha. The Buddha has lifted the right hand in abhayamudrā. Behind the head is a rather large aureole which seems to be left smooth; we do not yet see the scalloped border, so typical later on. On the front of the head the Master wears the uṣṇīṣa, clearly indicated here as a coil. The rest of the head is smooth, as are those of the servants, and gives the impression of being covered with a little cap. Agreeing with

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50) See J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XLII.
51) *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 63.
52) Ibidem, fig. 67.
53) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXVIII, b.

VOGEL [54]) BACHHOFER [55]) supposed that the Master's head in the Kaṭrā Buddha type was clean-shaven. FOUCHER thought that the sculptors represented the hair on purpose in such a way that it could be explained as shaven by those faithfuls who kept to the religious prescription pertaining to the outward appearance of the Master [56]). COOMARASWAMY first propounded that the head was clean-shaven [57]), later on he retracted this idea [58]). In the case of the servants of the relief in discussion, however, it can distinctly be seen that it was not the intention to render clean-shaven heads. For along the line of the forehead we see little scratches, probably meant to suggest hair. There are also images and reliefs of the Buddha in which the hair-scratches are visible along the line of the forehead [59]). These scratches are very often omitted, however, and understanding people knew all the same that the smooth cap suggested hair. Possibly it was elucidated by paint. Examples of similar hair-dressing indicated by scratches are to be found with men as well as with women [60]), and there are many examples of both whose hair is quite smooth which does not mean that they were clean-shaven [61]). A very illustrative proof of our opinion is

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54) J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-'10, p. 64; *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 35; *La sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 36.

55) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, p. 104.

56) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, pp. 696 and 700.

57) *H.I.I.A.*, p. 57.

58) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa and Crown, J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 827.

59) For instance the Buddha head in Berlin, reproduced in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. VI, Berlin 1930, pl. 36, b; J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XX, a and a stambha in the Lucknow Museum, in the old numbering probably N° B. 82, at present possibly N° H. 32. A photograph of this is in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā.

60) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XI, a, XII, and without scratches in pl. XVI (the dwarf below), LVII, LIX, a; *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 67, 68, 74.

61) Just before our ms. went to press we found an article by J. N. BANERJEA, *Uṣṇīṣa-siraskatā (a mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa) in the early Buddha images of India, I.H.Q.*, vol. VII, 1931, pp. 499-514, in which the author propounds exactly the same ideas as we, viz. that the heads of the Mathurā Buddhas are not clean shaven. We are glad to find ourselves not alone in this opinion. BANERJEA's arguments are the same as ours be it more elaborately expounded.

the image reproduced in BACHHOFER, pl. 151, fig. 2. The hair is indicated all over the head, yet the form of the head is exactly like the cap-shape of the kapardin type.

Here we touch upon a much disputed question: the origin of the uṣṇīṣa. In discussing the former two reliefs we have not mentioned this point, as the representations did not allow of conclusions. This time, however, we must and can go into the subject more thoroughly:

The general sense of the word *uṣṇīṣa* as "cranial bump" is mainly based on later Buddhistic texts, but several scholars take it that the word had this significance already when the first Buddha image was created [62]). The hair-dressing worn by the Buddha on the relief under discussion shows a speaking likeness to the one we find in several Yakṣa figures. That Yakṣas have a similar hair-dressing when not wearing a turban, need cause no surprise, for if we suppose—like COOMARASWAMY—that the Buddha type has been copied from the Yakṣa type, we could "a priori" have assumed that Yakṣas or other divine beings must have existed with a hair-dressing equal to that of the Buddha. Most Yakṣās, it is true, wear a turban, but this can be explained by the fact that originally the turban was the token of dignity "par excellence" in India, sometimes substituted by a crown, but not until much later. For the Yakṣa image is in our opinion "a priori" nothing else but the representation of the king's figure. The conception the man in the street had of these heavenly rulers, who exercise power over human beings, resembled for the most part the form he saw of his earthly rulers. So if a Yakṣa king was reproduced without a turban, he was given the hair-dressing of the Indian monarchs of that time. Not only with kings, but also with ascetics it was customary to wear

62) For instance WADDELL, who thinks the uṣṇīṣa was originally a snake's hood, which afterwards became the cranial bump of the Buddha in the time of Aśoka; in connection with this he gives quite fantastic theories, see L. A. WADDELL, *Buddha's Diadem or "Uṣṇīṣa": Its origin, nature and functions, A study of Buddhist Origins, O.Z.*, vol. III, 1914-'15, pp. 131-168. Some scholars adhered to the idea that the uṣṇīṣa was a cranial bump from the outset for only a certain area, for instance BACHHOFER for Mathurā, *Die frühindische Plastik*, p. 111; K. DE B. CODRINGTON for Gandhāra, *Ancient India*, p. 55. See also note 68.

the hair in a knot on the head. On the reliefs we have several representations of the last category of persons and their top-knots often cannot be distinguished from the uṣṇīṣa [63]). It is a pity that there are only few representations of royal figures without turbans (except for Brahmā as his nature is that of an ascetic), which is due to the fact that this head-dress was always worn outdoors. Indeed these few reliefs show a knot, tied up on the head in several cases, with a conspicuously strong resemblance to an uṣṇīṣa. In imitation of the living monarchs the Yakṣa images and other gods had their hair tied up in a knot [64]). In the next stage these images of gods serve as models for the Buddha images. FOUCHER has explained this same idea concerning the uṣṇīṣa of the Buddha image in Gandhāra [65]). We would like to add that again not only the Buddha but also gods show the uṣṇīṣa [66]) and so we think that in the first centuries when Buddha images were made, in Gandhāra as well as at Mathurā, there is no doubt that it was intended to reproduce a hair-knot on top of the head. Several examples can be given where the uṣṇīṣa is distinctly indicated as *hair* [67]). Not until *much* later was it understood as a protuberance of the

63) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. VIII, d and XVI, a; *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 47; *Origin Buddha Image*, figs. 27 and 29 and a stambha in the Lucknow Museum, probably N° H. 34, photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā. Also the representation of ascetics from Gandhāra show the hair-knot on the head, e.g. A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 189, p. 375 and vol. II, fig. 435, p. 253. Further: J. BARTHOUX, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, Figures et Figurines, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, tome III, Paris 1930, pl. 62, a and b; J. MEUNIÉ, *Shotorak, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, tome X, Paris 1942, pl. XIX and XX; L. BACHHOFER, *Eine Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodh Gaya, Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, vol. II, Leipzig 1925, pp. 73-76 and pl. 69.

64) V. S. AGRAWALA, *Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathurā, J.U.P.H.S.*, vol. VI, 1933, pp. 81-120, esp. p. 87 and figs. 1-3; *H.I.I.A.*, pl. 68; *Origin Buddha Image*, fig. 24.

65) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 294 and the fig. 447 on p. 297, and vol. I, figs. 234-237 on pp. 465-469.

66) See e.g. the gods in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Gandhara, Kutscha, Turfan*, pl. 14. Furthermore the various reproductions of Brahmā often wearing a hair-knot on the head.

67) E.g. the Buddha of Kaṭrā and that in the Münchener Museum für Völkerkunde, reproduced by L. SCHERMAN, *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Mün-*

skull [68]. After FOUCHER [69] COOMARASWAMY has proved plainly enough that the word *uṣṇīṣa* originally did *not* mean "protuberance of the skull" but simply "turban" [70]. WILSON had already given both meanings for the word [71]. The term *uṣṇīṣalakṣaṇa* according to COOMARASWAMY has to be translated in earlier times as "lakṣaṇa, that indicates a being "destined to wear a turban" " [72], and *uṇhīsasīso* is not to be translated as "having a protuberance on the head" [73], but as "having a head like a turban" [74]. The word *uṣṇīṣa* is also used to indicate the coping-stone of the railings around stūpas and other holy objects. In covering specially the head it becomes "turban". Consequently the Dutch word "bedekking" which, like the Sanskrit word can also be used for "head-dress", renders the significance correctly.

We fully agree with the opinion of FOUCHER and COOMARASWAMY that *uṣṇīṣa* originally did not mean "protuberance of the skull". COOMARASWAMY's translation of the word as "destined to wear a turban" or of *uṇhīsasīso* as "having a head like a turban", seems to us a little far-fetched. When among the characteristics of a cakravartin or Mahāpuruṣa the uṣṇīṣalakṣaṇa is mentioned [75], we prefer to understand this in the sense that one of his character-

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chener Museums für Völkerkunde, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, vol. V, 1928, figs. 9 and 11 on pp. 71 and 73.

68) BACHHOFER, however, says: "... dass in Mathura der Begriff ushnisha stets im Sinne von Schädelauswuchs verstanden worden ist", *Die frühindische Plastik,* p. 111.

69) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.,* vol. II, pp. 289 seq.

70) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa and Crown, J.R.A.S.,* 1928, pp. 815-841, esp. pp. 833-834.

71) H. H. WILSON, *A Dictionary, Sanscrit and English: translated, amended and enlarged from an original compilation prepared by Learned Natives for the College of Fort William,* Calcutta 1819, p. 129.

72) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa and Crown, J.R.A.S.,* 1928, pp. 815-841, esp. p. 830.

73) Ibidem, p. 835.

74) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *An early Indian Buddha head, Bulletin Detroit Institute of Arts,* vol. VIII, N° 6, 1927, pp. 65-66.

75) See for these lists of lakṣaṇas E. BURNOUF, *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi,* Paris 1852, Appendix VIII, pp. 553-647, and E. SENART, *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, son caractère et ses origines,* 2nd ed., Paris 1882, pp. 88-160, esp. pp. 124 seq.

istics is a turban, so the translation of the word *uṇhīsasīso* would be "a head *with* a turban". This is only a confirmation of the fact we have already brought forward a couple of times, viz., that the turban was one of the principle tokens of dignity in old India. That is why we mostly see that Yakṣas and other supernatural and royal beings showing these lakṣaṇas, wear turbans. When the figure of the Buddha had to be represented in human form, the sculptors met with the difficulty that it was explicitly known of the Master, that he having become a mendicant friar had laid aside all his regalia. Consequently all those royal characteristics of the Yakṣa images, like ornaments and turban, could not be reproduced. So the Buddha figure is, as it were, a Yakṣa, or rather a monarch, without regalia. The bracelets, necklaces and other ornaments were simply omitted, and the head, now uncovered, was given the hair-dressing, occasionally shown by the Yakṣas or kings as well, when not wearing a turban; that is to say, the Buddha was represented with a top-knot of hair, the so-called kaparda. That this was the hair-dressing in those times, not only appears from the few reliefs of that time showing a monarch or some other figure without a turban, but also from the Bodhisattva images without a head-dress from Gandhāra. These figures, which in their outer appearance go right back to that of the monarchs of that time, continually show the top-knot on the head. The hair-coil namely seems to be essential for a turban [76]). A long piece of material can very easily be draped on the head, if there is something to drape it around. The pin in the turbans worn in the time of the Safavids had the same function. So we assume that the uṣṇīṣa was at first meant as a hair-knot. When in the end the known series of lakṣaṇas began to be applied to the figure of Buddha also, it was of course no longer possible to interpret the uṣṇīṣalakṣaṇa in the sense of "with a turban". Though it is grammatically speaking rather improbable yet by this time people might possibly have begun to

76) Sikhs who always wear a turban and only take it off on very rare occasions also have a hair-coil on top of their head, see PHILLIPS TALBOT, *Delhi, Capital of a New Dominion, National Geographic Magazine,* 1947, vol. 42, pp. 597-630, esp. p. 629.

understand the lakṣaṇa as COOMARASWAMY thinks: "destined to wear a turban". It seems to us more probable that the word *uṣṇīṣa* now received the connotation of the top-knot on the turbanless head resulting from the translation "having a head fit for a turban". Anticipating that which we will deal with later on we can add to this that the conception of the word *uṣṇīṣa* as a protuberance on the head of the Buddha, did not come into existence until after the period when sculptors at Mathurā began to copy in some respects the Buddhas from North-West India.

According to COOMARASWAMY the Jina images as well show the uṣṇīṣa in the initial period. It would "a priori" not be impossible for the Jina images to have gone through the same development as the Buddha figures, as far as their hair-dressing is concerned.

Now the essential difference between the images of the Jina and the Buddha is that the first one is wholly naked, while the second one wears the garment of that time, as we see it on figures of Yakṣas and laymen. The seated Jina figure always in dhyānamudrā therefore has actually nothing in common with the Yakṣa images, but also the standing Jina is quite different, not only because of the nakedness but also on account of the attitude of the arms, taut along the body. The Buddha figure, on the contrary, shows the clothes as well as the attitude of the images of kings and gods: the legs slightly apart, the right hand in abhayamudrā and the left fist on the hip. In our opinion, namely, the abhayamudrā is a development of the royal gesture pointed out on some reliefs from Jagayyapeṭa and Amarāvatī by COOMARASWAMY [77]). When we put all this together it is clear that the Buddha figure shows a strong resemblance to the Yakṣa figure, which can certainly not be said of the Jina figure. That is why there is "a priori" not a single argument showing that at first the Jinas also displayed an uṣṇīṣa, for neither do the oldest Jina figures on the āyāgapaṭas seem to show the uṣṇīṣa, nor do the images of the Kuṣāṇa period,

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77) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *A royal Gesture, and Some other Motifs, Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150-jarig bestaan, 1778-1928,* Weltevreden 1929, vol. I, pp. 57-61.

authenticated as Jinas by their inscriptions, have it as far as we can trace. So until the contrary has been proved, we should like to accept as a working hypothesis, that before the Guptas the uṣṇīṣa is also one of the characteristics distinguishing the Buddha from the Jina. Should this hypothesis be right, then the uṣṇīṣa of the figures reproduced in fig. 27 and textfig. 10 (p. 259), is an extra argument to identify them as Buddhas.

The resemblance to the oldest Jina figures especially, and the fact that the Master is corpulent (and wears the garment not yet draped over the chest, while the girdle holding up the undergarment on the Buddha of Bala is not visible) gives reason to suppose that the relief reproduced in textfig. 10, originates from the beginning of our era, but probably even before that. We could continue to enumerate more examples of very early Buddha images such as for instance, the relief representing Indra's visit to Buddha, depicted on a cross-bar [78]), on which the Buddha is still unconventional, the nimbus left quite smooth, and the whole design and execution strongly reminds one of the art of Sanchi [79]). But we will leave it at this.

GANGOLY investigated how far the change from the stage in which the Buddha was still substituted by symbols to that in which the Master is represented in human form is reflected in literature [80]). He emphasizes, in our opinion correctly, that the symbols in the earlier period were by no means the consequence of plastic inability or of an iconographic interdiction, as some scholars supposed, but of the belief that the Blessed One simply could not be described in words or form and that neither gods nor men could behold him after the body had decayed. The author supports this with very convincing quotations [81]). Proceeding he demonstrates the slow change in the texts inclining more and more towards a

78) Reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. LIII, b.

79) See note 199.

80) O. C. GANGOLY, *The Antiquity of the Buddha-Image: The Cult of the Buddha, O.Z.,* Neue Folge, vol. XIV, Heft 2/3, 1938, pp. 41-53.

81) *Brahmajāla-Sutta,* 1, 3, 73 (*Dīgha Nikāya*) and BUDDHAGHOṢA, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī,* I, p. 128; IWASAKI MASUMI, however, says that the *Jūjuritsu* (*Hōbōgirin* N° 1435) hints on a prohibition to portray the Master, see note 84.

visual representation of the Master and finally encouraging the making of images as a highly meritorious work. Several texts, from which GANGOLY derives his quotations, can be dated approximately. His final opinion is: "It is reasonable to conclude that the earliest of these texts sanctioning and recommending image-worship had very probably been composed some time during the early part of the Pre-Christian century (circa 1-50 B.C.). And there is nothing inherently improbable in the first image of the Buddha having been carved or painted some time before 50 B.C." [82])

It is regrettable that this argumentation, on the whole so excellently documented, ends by the speculations (known from elsewhere as well) about the age of the art of Gandhāra, based on the hypothesis about the use of the Seleucidian era. However this may be, the value of the literary data remains the same, and we see that they support our assumptions regarding the time when the oldest Buddha figures were made.

Now we must confront some points which we have worked out in Chapter Two, with the conclusion drawn just now on the ground of several data about the age of the first Buddha images at Mathurā. Those points were:

1—The fact that indeed on the coins of Maues no Buddha is represented, p. 97.

2—The fact that at Sirkap, the town destroyed after Kujūla Kadphises, no Buddha images have been found, p. 87.

3—The date of the reliquary of Bīmarān, which is probably later than was generally hitherto supposed, pp. 83-94.

4—The fact that one of the oldest images of the Buddha in North-West Indian style is to be found on the reliquary of Kaniṣka, pp. 98-101.

When we survey these data in the light of the substance dealt with above, the inevitable conclusion must be that we find the Buddha image at least half a century, if not a whole century, earlier at Mathurā than in Gandhāra. And this, we think, proves what

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82) O. C. GANGOLY, *The Antiquity of the Buddha-Image: The Cult of the Buddha, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. XIV, 1938, p. 56.

HAVELL and COOMARASWAMY—be it often on intuitive and emotional grounds—have maintained, viz., that the Buddha image originated on Indian soil, conceived as a supply for Indian need. The credit of this idea is always given to the two just mentioned scholars, but it was VICTOR GOLOUBEW [83]) who propounded this thought for the first time in 1923; honour to whom honour is due [84])!

When COOMARASWAMY pleaded for the idea that Mathurā had created the Buddha image on its own initiative, he brought forward "inter alia" that the Bhakti-cult, which in those centuries became very prominent, demanded as it were a concrete image of the Master. KONOW completely joined in with this [85]). Much earlier GOBLET D'ALVIELLA had maintained that it could not be accepted that India received the idea to worship images from the West [86]). KONOW defended the same idea afterwards [87]) against the statements of CUNNINGHAM [88]), SMITH [89]), and BLOCH [90]), that idolatry was imported into India from the West. He pointed to the numerous examples of images of gods dating from a time when there was no

83) V. GOLOUBEW, *Review of* A. FOUCHER, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, B.E.F.E.O.*, tome 23, Hanoi 1924, pp. 438-454, esp. p. 451.

84) IWASAKI MASUMI had already hinted on this special Central Indian Buddha type in 1920; we doubt, however, whether GOLOUBEW had seen his article; IWASAKI MASUMI, *Review of* A. FOUCHER, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Kokka,* vol. 30, May 1920, pp. 432-439. Before GLASER had propounded that India made Buddha images already in the time of Aśoka, but he could not point to any example, and he did not give any convincing argument; C. GLASER, *Die Entwicklung der Gewanddarstellung in der Ostasiatischen Plastik, O.Z.*, vol. III, 1914-'15, pp. 393-423 and vol. IV, 1915-'16, pp. 67-87, esp. p. 401.

85) S. KONOW, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buddhabildes, S.B.A.W.*, 1928, vol. XXIX, pp. 565-574.

86) GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce. Des influences classiques dans la civilisation de l'Inde,* Paris 1897, pp. 114-121; 2nd ed., Paris 1926, pp. 152-161.

87) S. KONOW, *Note on the use of Images in Ancient India, Ind. Ant.*, vol. 38, 1909, pp. 145-149.

88) A. CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bharhut,* London 1879, p. 107 and *Mahābodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple at Buddha-gaya,* London 1892, p. 52.

89) V. SMITH, *Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India, J.A.S.B.*, vol. 58, part I, 1889, pp. 107-201, esp. p. 193.

90) T. BLOCH, *Über einige bildliche Darstellungen altindischer Gottheiten, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 62, 1908, pp. 648-656.

question yet of western influence, with which we quite agree, but this by no means contests the assumption that a characteristic representation of the Master was striven for and found in Gandhāra also; but we absolutely deny that this North-West Indian form would have been the model for the sculptors at Mathurā, as FOUCHER tried to show, which idea was taken over by many other archaeologists, even by BACHHOFER [91]).

In the first half of the 1st century A.D. the custom gained ground at Mathurā to represent the Master no longer in symbols but in human form (several sculptures do in fact show both ways of representing the Buddha) [92]), and the portrayal of the Buddha is determined by tradition in the course of that period. Deviations as in the seated Buddha in the Lucknow Museum (see fig. 33) become more rare, and after the middle of the 1st century we may speak of a canonically fixed Buddha image. Among the older specimens of this canonic type probably may be reckoned, as argued above [93]), the standing Buddha of Sārnāth and the seated one of Kaṭrā.

Some peculiarities of the standing image have already been described above [94]). We can now add to these: The uṣṇīṣa often indicated as a knot of hair is arranged right on the front of the skull. The eyes are protruding and show a very striking short line at the outer corner (see textfig. 26 on p. 252). The ear-lobes are not very elongated. Both breasts are prominent. The very early representations do not yet show the girdle, which is always seen on the canonical images, the ends of which tied together hang down on the right thigh. Between the legs we see a little seated lion (probably an allusion to the Buddha's surname Śākyasiṃha) or a small cluster of lotus-flowers. The palm of his right hand is turned forward somewhat obliquely, the back of which is supported by a cushion-like elevation, while the fingers often point outwards. The thumb is pressed against the other fingers. The elbows are

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91) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pp. 73 and 97.
92) Reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. LVI, a and b.
93) See p. 150.
94) See pp. 153-154.

held far from the body and do not rest in the lap. The figure as a whole is much slimmer than the oldest Buddha images discussed above.

As for the canonized seated Buddha (see figs. 31 and 32) we only need to add the following: properly considered this kind is more a haut-relief than an image. At the back foliage is often shown. His left hand rests on the left knee, the fist often clenched. The legs are crossed in padmāsana; on the upturned soles of the feet the dharmacakra and triratna are to be seen. To the right and to the left of the Buddha an adorant is standing. The Master is seated on an elevation, decorated with receding ridges, which shows resemblance to the altar-like seats of the early small Jinas and Buddhas (compare figs. 27 and 28). In the earlier sculptures the upper rim is generally supported by three little lions, two "en profil" at the corners, one "en face" in the centre. The seat might therefore appropriately be called a siṃhāsana. Under the chin the manes hang down in a point. The central animal is sometimes substituted by a sacred symbol. Later on the donors of the image are portrayed on either side of this symbol [95]).

Let us now consider more closely these secondary figures attending the various seated Buddha images. For this purpose a rather large number of images is at our disposal, but unfortunately several of them have been broken in such a way that sometimes the parts important for our investigation have been lost. So we have only five sculptures in which the secondary figures are for the most part visible. (For three of them see figs. 31, 32 and 33.) In these sculptures we see that both personages wear royal attire: necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, and turbans. Consequently they are exalted beings. According to COOMARASWAMY they are Yakṣas, borrowed from popular belief by the Buddhists in the same way as

95) The only exception to this rule we know of is the pedestal of a Buddha dated in the year 7, in the Mathurā Museum, N° add. 635, on which two men, two women and two children are depicted in the space between the two lions, but no sacred symbol. Reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-'10, pl. XXIV, c. The seat of fig. 34 probably belongs to the time when the Buddha image was not yet strictly canonized. There are several reasons which make an early date of the image very probable, see pp. 174-175.

the old gods of Ireland were not immediately rejected by the first Christian monks [96]). AGRAWALA defines them as "chauri bearing attendants" [97]). VOGEL describes these "satellites" on the relief of Kaṭrā as follows: "De chaque côté se tient un acolyte en grand costume laïque, maniant un chasse-mouches,—prototype de ces Bodhisattvas qui flanquent les Buddhas postérieurs." [98]) Indeed there are some images in which both adorants are holding a fly-whisk and so can hardly be distinguished from each other. We have, however, found several reliefs where there is a definite difference between the two figures. On the relief at Boston (see fig. 32) the figure to the right is holding a cāmara, but the one to the left is holding an object near the hip that can be nothing else than a vajra [99]). Furthermore, the bearer is distinguished by very short pants and something tied around the neck which, if we are not mistaken, strikingly resembles the lion's skin, which the so-called "Hercules with Nemeian lion" [100]) wears, for the lower ends show also small claws. Obviously this strange element has been accommodated to something familiar. On an image from Maira, one of the pañcavīra of the Vṛṣṇis [101]), an ornamental chain is fastened around the neck in the same way with a reef knot in front, in this case covered by a buckle, but the same way of knotting is clearly visible at the waist. The attire plainly indicates that in the case of the Boston figure a vigorous personality is represented, and this character excellently suits a bearer of a vajra. But this example is not the only one. The Buddha on the haut-relief, reproduced in fig. 33, also has an acolyte at his right side, holding a vajra. Furthermore, a photograph of the Buddha of Kaṭrā by JOHNSTON and HOFFMANN (see fig. 31) gives us

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96) *Origin Buddha Image,* pp. 13-14 and 18; *H.I.I.A.,* p. 46.

97) V. S. AGRAWALA, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra,* Allahabad 1939, p. 34.

98) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* p. 36.

99) Compare this attitude with the image of Indra, reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXXVIII, b or *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1909-'10, pl. XXVIII, b.

100) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XLVII, b.

101) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XLIII, b.

the impression that here also the left adorant does not carry a cāmara in his hand, as VOGEL thinks, but a thunderbolt. So it would be advisable to investigate "in situ" whether this is as the photograph seems to show. Finally the adorant at the right of the Buddha who is fourth from left on the relief reproduced in fig. 51, also seems to hold a vajra, as well as that on the upper relief of a stambha at Mathurā [102]). Two of the sculptures mentioned distinctly show us that a vajra-bearing adorant often stood at the side of the Buddha. As for the three other pieces, we should like to be on the safe side, and leave things as they are, until better reproductions are available.

In our opinion this vajra bearer is Indra, the god to whom of old the thunderbolt was attributed. Moreover one of his surnames is Vajrapāṇi [103]). The identification of one of the figures as Indra makes it very probable that the other acolyte with the cāmara is Brahmā. As ascetic figure the fly-whisk has always been one of his typical attributes.

According to COOMARASWAMY the figure with the vajra would be a further unknown Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, who had no relation whatever to Indra, but from whom the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi would later have originated [104]). We regret being unable to agree to this. In that case who is the other acolyte? A conclusive argument in favour of our opinion that Indra is meant by the acolyte holding a vajra, is a fragment of a Buddha image in the Lucknow Museum [105]) (see fig. 34). The inscription on the pedestal mentions the image as a Bodhisattva [106]). Unfortunately the date itself has been broken away, but the palaeography as well as the corpulent representation of the two figures on the pedestal, the shawl of the figure at our left hand and the elegant way the monk's robe flows across the Buddha's legs, all point to a very early period,

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102) Photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā. Probably N° 742 of the Mathurā or Lucknow Museum.

103) *Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 5, 3. *Mahābhārata,* Calcutta ed., I, 5771, etc.

104) *Origin Buddha Image,* p. 18.

105) Lucknow Provincial Museum, N° B. 18.

106) See for this matter pp. 177-179.

probably from the time before Kaniṣka. BANERJI at the time described the piece as follows:

"This fragment was discovered, according to Growse, in a mound near the Circular Road at Mathurā. The language is corrupt Sanskṛit and the characters are neat and well incised. They belong to the early Kushaṇa period. The important point about this inscription is that it is a Bōdhisattva image and not a Buddha image as Growse calls it [107]). The inscription consists of a single mutilated line on the upper rim of the pedestal ...."

"The pedestal is one of the finest pieces of carving turned out by the Mathurā school of sculptors. It represents two men of high rank sitting on a series of steps apparently conversing with each other. The heads of these figures are slightly damaged, but the execution is very fine. The mutilation of the first few letters of the inscription and the loss of the main figure is greatly to be deplored, as they would have been very important for the history of Indian sculpture." [108])

The figure to the right on the pedestal cannot be any other than god Indra, as is shown by the high mitre, which he alone wears in the reliefs from Gandhāra and Mathurā. With both hands he lifts the vajra. Like the figure to the left, he is seated in lalitāsana, the attitude especially asumed by monarchs or gods. The figure to the left has thrown a shawl round his shoulders in the same wide loop as the figures on the early āyāgapaṭas [109]). He holds the hands in añjalimudrā and is, like Indra, decidedly corpulent. The hair is arranged in a coil. There is nothing to prevent us from taking this figure to be the other great god of Hinduism, Brahmā. The pedestal on which the Master is seated was too small in this case for placing the acolytes at his sides and they were therefore given a place in front against his seat, which is at the same time extremely suitable for devoted worshippers.

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107) In our opinion, however, in a certain sense GROWSE was right too, see pp. 177-179.

108) RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, *New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, 1909-'10, p. 109.

109) See p. 157.

In connection with this it is furthermore important that, as we saw in Chapter Two [110]), also in Gandhāra Brahmā and Indra form a permanent couple on either side of the Master (see fig. 25), and in our opinion this custom therefore goes back to a very old Indian iconographic tradition, for even at the time when the Master was still indicated by a symbol we find both great gods in adoration on either side of an empty seat under a Bodhi-tree [111]). In the art of the Guptas and Pālas we find again and again the two gods attending on the Master; Brahmā can mostly be recognized by his four heads, Indra by his vajra [112]).

All this points to the conclusion that, although some haut-reliefs may be found on which both acolytes hold a fly-whisk, and consequently are not clearly characterized as Indra and Brahmā, there are yet several reliefs in which this is an undoubted fact (on account of the attributes and sometimes even the costumes or head-dress), so that there is reason to assume it was the intention to express in the reliefs that the two highest gods of Hinduism came to worship the Master. It frequently occurs that the principal gods of an old religion, originally inimical towards a new doctrine, are assimilated by the latter in which they are given a protecting or worshipping character [113]). It is possible that the identity of these two secondary figures under discussion gradually was lost in later times. With the Jainas, however, the names of the two acolytes have been preserved till now: Indra and Brahmā [114]). Buddhism even brought this couple to far-away

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110) See pp. 132-136.

111) For instance a railing pillar at Mathurā, N° 2663, originating from Mahaban, mentioned in V. S. AGRAWALA, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra,* p. 29.

112) For instance Buddha of Bihar, Photograph Kern Institute, mentioned in J. ANDERSON, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum,* part II, *Gupta and Inscription Galleries,* Calcutta 1883, p. 5, D.G.A., cat. p. 5.

113) See note 96.

114) H. VON GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus, eine Indische Erlösungsreligion,* Berlin 1925, pp. 361-362; J. BURGESS, *Digambara Jaina Iconography, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 32, 1903, pp. 459-464, esp. p. 462.

Japan [115]); for some scholars also identify them with the Ni-ō who are designated as Kongō-Yasha (= Vajra-Yakṣas); in our opinion this identification need not necessarily be wrong, as DE VISSER thinks. We believe that all this seems an additional argument in assuming that it was therefore customary in the earliest Indian representations to render Indra and Brahmā as worshippers on either side of Buddha and Mahāvīra.

We have seen in Chapter Two that FOUCHER proposed to identify all those scenes in which the Buddha is standing between Brahmā and Indra, as the descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven, and, if the Buddha is seated on a throne, as the request to preach the law. We think FOUCHER goes somewhat too far with this, especially when he says that the reliquary of Bīmarān "s'inspire visiblement de la „Descente du ciel" " and that of Shāh-jī-kī Ḍherī "rappelle plutôt, avec les tempéraments nécessaires pour transformer une scène légendaire en groupe iconique, le „grand miracle de Çrāvastī"." [116])

If we should apply this system to the haut-reliefs of Mathurā, we ought to assume that the invitation to preach the law was represented in these triades at Mathurā. This seems impossible. It is incomprehensible why the sculptors of Mathurā should have represented this very scene again and again, and never one of the many other events in the Master's life. We therefore take it that the explanation of the North-West Indian reliefs showing Indra and Brahmā which FOUCHER proposes, will in no way do for Mathurā, and that the two gods are only represented here in the function of worshippers, the more so as we have seen in Chapter Two that FOUCHER's identification in a good many cases does not seem to be right.

Several images of the orthodox type under discussion possess another peculiarity which we should like to deal with. BACHHOFER has described the matter as follows: "Wie bei dem Standbild aus dem Jahre 3 ist es auch bei dem Werk aus Katra erstaunlich, dass

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115) M. W. DE VISSER, *Buddha's Leer in het Verre Oosten,* Amsterdam 1930, p. 67.

116) See Ch. II, pp. 133 seq.

eine Gestalt, die alle Zeichen eines Buddha an sich trägt, für einen Bodhisattva ausgegeben wird. In der Tat ist auch ein fast identisches Stück aus Anyor, dessen Kopf und rechter Arm leider verloren gegangen sind, als Bildnis eines Buddha bezeichnet. Bei sitzenden Figuren ist also zwischen Buddha und Bodhisattva kein Unterschied gemacht; das gleiche gilt aber auch von den Standbildern, denn hier wie dort ist der Bodhisattva durch eine Gestalt mit den typischen Kennzeichen eines Buddha vertreten." [117])

VOGEL had already observed this peculiarity as to the seated images: "We are thus led to the conclusion that, in seated images at least, the Mathurā sculptors of the early Kushaṇa period made no distinction between Gautama the Bodhisattva and Gautama the Buddha." [118])

The difference of opinion between BANERJI and GROWSE which we touched on before, originates from the same matter. The meaning we attach to the word *Bodhisattva* nowadays, for the greater part goes back to the use of it in Mahāyāna Buddhism: the being that will obtain Enlightenment in the near future is called Bodhisattva. When he has attained the Bodhi, then he has become a Buddha, an Enlightened One. So the turning point between the two designations lies at the attainment of the Highest Wisdom.

We would rather not explain the above discussed anomaly of denominating as Bodhisattva an image very clearly representing the Buddha by assuming that the sculptors of Mathurā made no difference between Gautama before and after the Enlightenment. Nor does it seem possible to us to explain the question by assuming that all these Buddha images represent Gautama *after* his renunciation of worldly life and *before* the Enlightenment, as is done by SCHERMAN [119]). In our opinion the most probable solution is that the meaning of the word *Bodhisattva* has altered, that is to say, in the long run the word acquired a more limited sense

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117) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* p. 103.

118) J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā,* p. 40.

119) L. SCHERMAN, *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst,* 1929, Band VI, p. 151.

than was originally the case. The literal translation of the word *Bodhisattva*, "He whose essence (or object) is perfect knowledge", by no means restricts this denomination to creatures *before* the Enlightenment. In itself there would be grammatically speaking no objection to apply the designation of *Bodhisattva* to a creature *after* the Bodhi as well. Indeed it appears from some Pāli commentaries that the word was formerly used in a wider meaning than we are accustomed to now. BUDDHAGHOṢA says in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, 427: "Bodhisatto ti paṇḍitasatto bujjhanakasatto; bodhisaṅkhātesu vā catasu maggesu āsatto laggamānaso ti Bodhisatto." [120]) And a passage from the *Theragāthā* says: "Buddhassa mātā pana Māyanāmā yā bodhisattaṃ parihariya kucchinā." [121]).

The designation of *Bodhisattva* apparently could be applied to the following categories: buddhapaccekabuddhabuddhasāvakā, i.e. Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas and disciples of Buddhas.

In the long run, probably under influence of the doctrine about the Bodhisattvas, developing in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the term *Bodhisattva* was limited to those creatures who have not yet reached Enlightenment. As appears from an inscription on a Buddha image discovered at Bodh-Gayā of the year 64 of the Gupta era [122]), in which this image is designated as a Bodhisattva, we can assume that the narrowing of the meaning of *Bodhisattva* did not begin to be customary until the 4th century A.D. BACHHOFER, who discussed this image in his *Die frühindische Plastik*, thinks that the date refers to the Kaniṣka era. This seems impossible to us on account of the decidedly Gupta features of the head and the Gupta characters of the inscription. Furthermore BACHHOFER says, "kann man die Bezeichnung „Bodhisattva" als irrtümlich erklären" [123]). Such a statement seems dangerous and we would not like to subscribe to it, the more so when we see that the texts give sufficient proof that the title *Bodhisattva* had another significance than it now has for us.

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120) Our attention was drawn to this passage by Professor GONDA.

121) *Theragāthā*, 534. See also *Manorathapūraṇī*, an Aṅguttara Commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, 453.

122) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 949.

123) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, p. 109, note 3 and pl. 89.

We have so far discussed the most important questions arising in connection with the Buddha images like that of Katrā. It is this type that had become the canonical Buddha image at Mathurā and in North Indian art when Kaniṣka ascended the throne. Following FOUCHER and COOMARASWAMY we will call this type —to distinguish it from other later representations of the Master— the kapardin type, after the kaparda(shell)-form of the uṣṇīṣa (hair-knot), as this is one of its characteristics. How long this type had already been in vogue when the great Emperor came to the throne cannot be said for certain. Probably it took about a century to develop from the king or Yakṣa statues. We find the earliest dates on images in the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign, as e.g. an image from the year 2 at Kauśāmbī [124]), and another from the year 3 at Sārnāth [125]). A third one dedicated also by friar Bala just like the one from Sārnāth, was found at Śrāvastī [126]).

The fairly large number of images, dated as early as the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign and the good style indicating routine of the sculptors, confirm the supposition that these images had been made like that for some time. As we will see further on this kapardin type remains the only current one until about the year 130 A.D. and many examples of it are known, all of them, according to their dates, originating from the reign of Kaniṣka and that of his immediate successors. During the reign of King Vāsiṣka, the kapardin type hardly changes at all. It must be mentioned, however, that in the long run it became customary to represent the donors of the image on the front of the seat of the Buddha between the lions at the corners. These donors nearly always carry as an offering in their hands either a bunch of flowers or a garland, or both.

During the reign of Huviṣka, however, there is a great revolution in the style of Mathurā. This change is caused by a strong influx

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124) KUNJA GOBINDA GOSWAMI, *Kosam Inscription of (the reign of) Kanishka: the year 2, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 24, 1938, pp. 210-212 with plate.

125) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXVIII, a.

126) Ibidem, p. 35.

of influences from Gandhāra, probably due to the fact that the art of this country had by this time risen to such a height that its products passed the borders and drew the attention of sculptors from other parts of India. The results of this can clearly be seen, for instance in the Buddha images at Mathurā.

As early as the year 1909 VOGEL observed that some of these images betray a strong influence from Gandhāra [127]). The characteristics of this group of Buddhas, indicating an influence from North-West India, in our opinion, are chiefly the following: the garment, showing broad pleating, and the fact that the body is entirely covered by this garment, so that both shoulders (and with the seated images also the feet) are hidden, and finally the attitude of the raised left hand, which has gathered up part of the garment. All these qualities which show that these images form a group, give them a strange appearance when compared with the numerous Buddhas of the kapardin type current until then, and it is clear that here a representation of the Buddha from North-West India has served as a model.

Before passing on to a discussion of this new kind of Buddha image, it is advisable to point out emphatically that epigraphy gives us irrefutable proof that the two Buddha types in their original form existed side by side for only a short time. We do not know of Buddha images of the pure kapardin type dated after the year 60 of the Kaniṣka era [128]), nor of Buddha images betraying influence from Gandhāra dated before the year 50 of that era [129]). The only image of the kapardin type which seems to be

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127) J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-'10, p. 66, in which he says: "... Mathurā has, however, yielded another type which it is possible to connect directly with examples of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture."

128) We should like very much to see a photograph of LÜDERS' *List* N° 51. It is quite possible that this image already shows signs of influences from Gandhāra. The image LÜDERS' *List* N° 12 from the year 74 will undoubtedly be of the new type. Unfortunately, however, we know of no reproduction of it. Mr. NAGAI, the Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, was so kind to send us a photograph of LÜDERS' *List* N° 52, but the fragment only shows part of the legs of a standing Buddha and the base of the statue, which is not enough to judge whether the image is influenced by North-West India or not.

129) The image, showing influence from Gandhāra of the year 22 of the

dated later than 140 A.D. is a so-called "Bodhisattva" published by AGRAWALA [130]). Quite near the pedestal of the image an inscription was found which we read as follows:

"sa 90 2 he 1 di 5 asya pū(r)vvaye
vi(or kha)ṇḍavihare vasthavyā bhikṣusa grāha-
dāsikasa sthuva prāṣṭhāpāyati sa-
rva sav(v)anaṃ hitasukhaye."

The most important point in which we differ from AGRAWALA's reading is *bhikṣusa* in stead of *bhikṣasa.* The other deviations are of minor importance. AGRAWALA translates the inscription as follows:

"In the year 92, first month of Hemanta, on the fifth day, on this date, in the Stūpa of Bhikshu Grahadāsika, a resident of Khaṇḍa Vihāra monastery, establishes for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings." [131])

AGRAWALA's conclusion was: "The object dedicated is left unspecified in the inscription which is a very unfortunate part of it. A priori it is obvious that the inscription should refer to the dedicaton of the Bodhisattva but no definite evidence can be adduced in favour of this conclusion ...." Discussing the image in the preceding pages AGRAWALA takes it, however, for granted that it dates from the year 92 [132]).

Now first of all this seems impossible on account of the style which points to a date before the middle of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era. But the deciding factor in this question is the inscription itself. It is quite unusual that the dedicatory inscription omits describing the dedicated object (in this case according to AGRAWALA the image). Moreover it is incomprehensible why the monk

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Kaniṣka era, mentioned by E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.,* Neue Folge, vol. VI, p. 273, is, as we shall see below in Ch. IV, pp. 232-237, a century later than has hitherto been assumed e.g. by L. SCHERMAN, *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst,* 1929, Band VI, Heft 2, p. 151 and fig. 22 and J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* p. 38.

130) V. S. AGRAWALA, *New Sculptures from Mathura, J.U.P.H.S.,* vol. XI, part II, 1938, pp. 66-76.

131) Ibidem, p. 75.

132) Ibidem, p. 69.

Grāhadāsika would erect an image *in* a stūpa. Images may be found inside stūpas but then it always concerns images which were buried on account of their holiness, result of their antiquity. We are here concerned with an image still brand-new at the moment of the burial. Lastly it is quite unusual that the donor only indirectly communicates his name in the dedicatory inscription. These three improbabilities induced us to examine the inscription once more with the result that we offer another translation, more in accordance with the rules we find applied in other similar dedicatory inscriptions:

"In the year 92, the first (month of) winter, on the 5th day, on this occasion as specified, the inhabitants of the Viṇḍa monastery erected a stūpa for the monk Grāhadāsika. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings."

It is clear now that a stūpa was erected in the monastery, an act which was considered as highly meritorious and quite usual in Buddhist circles all over Asia. Consequently the inscription has nothing to do with the Bodhisattva image, and we therefore are quite free to ascribe this to a period before the middle of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era.

Before dealing with the Buddha images which betray influences from North-West India, we must still touch upon one point: we will see that one of the peculiarities of that group of images is, that both shoulders are covered by the monk's robe flowing down in broad pleats from the shoulders. These folds certainly are due to influence from Gandhāra, but the idea of covering both shoulders might have originated in Mathurā itself, or else it is the very first symptom by which we can discern North-West Indian influence in the art of Mathurā, for there are several Buddha images of the old national type which show monks on their bases with both shoulders covered, clad in robes giving the impression of being chequered. That this way of wearing the uppergarment of the monk's robe was not confined to monks only, is shown by a Buddha figure reproduced in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1934*, vol. IX, pl. IV, a and b. Both shoulders of this Buddha, which in all respects clearly belongs to the kapardin

type, are covered with a chequered robe which does not yet show the broad pleating of the Buddha type with clear influences from Gandhāra. As this question forms a subject in itself we will leave our discussion at this point as we hope to return to it soon in a separate article.

The earliest images in the group under influence from Gandhāra seem to us to be the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 33 and 36. The first one is a Buddha [133]), wrapped up in a garment covering both shoulders and feet; consequently of the type we know from Gandhāra. Now this figure has been completely taken over and placed in the back-ground of the Buddhas of the kapardin type with all its details. If we compare this piece of sculpture e.g. with the Buddha of Kaṭrā (see fig. 31), many similarities immediately attract our attention. To the right and to the left the two acolytes; the one at the right hand of the Buddha very distinctly holds a vajra. The seat is also exactly similar to that in vogue up till now. As far as the worn-off piece permits, we still can distinguish at both corners the outlines of a small seated lion, facing outwards. In the centre we believe that a small lion "en face" was seated. Both thighs, sticking out on either side of the body, are still distinctly visible. So the pedestal shows the decoration we also found in the Buddha of Kaṭrā.

Now let us see which elements of his own art the sculptor of Mathurā retained in his attempts to imitate a Buddha image from North-West India, and which specific qualities of the school of Mathurā then were lost.

In order to do this, let us first consider the pleating of the garment more closely. According to the custom from Gandhāra, the monk's robe had to be draped over the whole body, and though somewhat more closely pleated here and there, above all, should represent a thick woolly garment. This was something not yet known to the sculptors of Mathurā. They were masters in reproducing the cobwebby thin tissue, the so-called kāśi-tissue, indicating by its name its origin, which was said to be so thin that a piece

133) Lucknow Museum, N° B. 14, or B. i. 28 (?).

several yards long could be pulled through a finger-ring. Characteristic of this material was that, thrown round the shoulders and gathered up on the left hip, it fell down after the fashion of those days in many little pleats running close together. Now the sculptors of Mathurā and other centres of art in early India, were very skilful in reproducing this tissue, both there, where because of this transparency the whole body showed through, and where it fell down into numerous pleats when gathered up. The thickness of the roll of material, as shown on so many images of Yakṣas and the Buddha, gathered up on the left hip and flowing down again over the left wrist or arm, is really not due to a clumsy treatment; the extremely thin tissue, indeed forming a similar pleating, is very faithfully imitated [134]). The sculptors very accurately rendered this by chiselling small narrow grooves, running parallel to each other in the direction of the pleating, on a thick mass of stone situated higher than the rest of the surface.

Suddenly an order is received to make a Buddha image wearing a pleated garment covering the whole body, as in Gandhāra. So what could be more logical than to put into practice for the whole garment the technique hitherto used only when indicating pleats on the shoulder or hip. This can plainly be seen in the Buddha in fig. 32, where very thin narrow grooves are chiselled parallel to each other over the whole garment. In cross-section this would appear as in textfig. 11.



Textfig. 11. Cross-section of the drapery in figs. 33 and 36

The pleats begin on both shoulders, then fall down and form a half-loop, finally running up slightly and then stopping. A groove runs down alternately from the left and right shoulder. This process of folds alternating from the right and left shoulder is of course used in order to prevent a large number of grooves from concen-

134) See for example the "Bodhisattva" of the monk Bala at Sārnāth, reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXVIII, a.

trating on the shoulders, which would have to be chiselled very close to each other.

Here is again a divergence from the Buddha images of the kapardin type, namely that, though the same technique is used for modelling the folds, the grooves are nevertheless much further apart, in order to imitate the broad pleating shown by the Buddha from the North-West. Although the sculptor tried to suggest a thick woollen garment by this method of rendering broad folds, on the other hand, unconsciously affected by the traditions of his own school of art he modelled the breasts very prominently, so that the impression of a thick garment was lessened. Incidentally it may be remarked here that it is this tendency to let the body show through the garment which after more than a century again gains the upper hand and gradually substitutes the thin transparent tissue for the thick woollen material. These prominent breasts we just mentioned were characteristic of the Buddha image which the sculptor was accustomed to model in the national school of sculptors; and without further thought, he now renders the bust as if the chest were still partly naked and not covered by a thick woollen garment. So here again we have an element from the kapardin type that has persisted in these later images influenced by Gandhāra.

Furthermore, the way in which the sculptor in this image renders the lappet of the garment, gathered up by the left hand, deserves our attention. The piece of material flows slightly rippling down on to the seat, spreading out below. We also draw attention to the sharp V-shape, in which the garment is folded around the neck.

Unfortunately the head with the nimbus has been lost. In all probability the latter showed the well-known scalloped edge. The right hand is raised in abhayamudrā, which is the regular attitude of the Buddhas of the kapardin type, and this hand is lifted so high that the elbow does not touch the thighs. Though the hand has been partly broken off, it can still be distinctly seen that the thumb was pressed against the fingers, while the palm was turned half forward, as is the case with the images of the kapardin type. This hand as well as the left one gathering up the lappet, is still pressed closely to the body, as in the kapardin type—a result of

the brittleness of the stone—but still more, of lack of daring on the part of the sculptors.

The second image [135]) belonging, in our opinion, to the earliest stage of the group of images influenced by North-West India, is the standing Buddha, reproduced in fig. 36, which except for the demolished feet is complete. In this image the above mentioned peculiarities can be more clearly seen than in the previous Buddha. Here also the narrow lines are engraved rather wide apart, in the same way as in the previous image the grooves run down alternately from the left and right shoulder and bend upwards on the front. The garment distinctly shows the shape of the body, breasts, navel and pudenda, just as was customary in the standing images of the kapardin type. His right hand is lifted in abhaya-mudrā and rests against a cushion-like support, decorated with engraved lines, which we have found in exactly the same form as support behind the right hands of several Buddhas of the kapardin type. Furthermore, the palm of the hand is turned half forward and the thumb is pressed against the fingers. Important is the fact that in this case the head and the nimbus are undamaged and they show us that in this respect also the sculptor has been completely faithful to the traditions of his own school. The hair has been rendered smoothly; on top of the crown we see the uṣṇīṣa, also smoothly represented. The ūrṇā has clearly been rendered as a small spiral, and the eyes show the characteristic little groove at the outside corners. The nimbus has also been represented in the same way as in the national school of Mathurā and shows the well-known scalloped edge.

Summarizing, we see in the following qualities of the images discussed, characteristics already found in the Buddhas of the kapardin type: the framing with acolytes, the form and decoration of the nimbus, the seat with the three little lions, the form of the pleat-grooves, the fact that the body distinctly shows through the garment so that the breasts, navel, etc. are visible, the smoothly

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135) Mathurā Museum, N° A. 4; J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 49, pl. XV, a; L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 86, fig. 1; A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 584 on p. 755.

rendered hair, and the fact that the right hand is lifted high, only turned half forward obliquely, resting against a cushion-like support and consequently firmly against the body, while, finally, the thumb is pressed against the fingers.

On the other hand there are only two qualities which we are unable to trace back to the Buddha of the kapardin type, but which point to influence from Gandhāra, viz. the fact that the garment covers both shoulders and feet, and that the lappet is gathered up in the left hand. Regarding these images we can hardly yet speak of copies of North-West Indian examples, as they are still too much rooted in the old school of Mathurā. At most there is here only a slight influence from North-West India.

A next stage of development in this group of images at Mathurā,



Textfig. 12. Cross-section of the drapery in figs. 39 and 40

showing influences from Gandhāra, is found in the images reproduced in figs. 39 [136]) and 40 [137]). It is remarkable to see how the sculptors at Mathurā discharged their task of imitating the Buddha of Gandhāra, and what was the result when they had transposed the example in their own style and tradition of art.

That the two images just mentioned are later than the Buddhas already discussed, appears from the fact that the treatment of the garment represents a following stage, i.e. one in which the sculptor makes a greater endeavour to represent the thick round pleating of the much heavier and thicker garment of the Buddha of North-West India by rounding off his pleats so that a ribbed effect is obtained. The cross-section now looks like textfig. 12. We clearly find this stage in the two Buddhas mentioned, those of Anyor and Boston.

These images are further distinct from the two preceding images because the pleats no longer run down from the right or the left

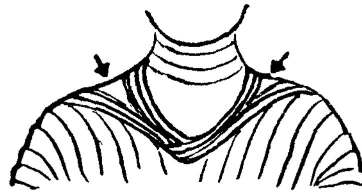
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136) Mathurā Museum, N° A. 65; J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, pl. 63; discovered at Anyor.

137) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, N° 27448; photograph N° B. 3886.

shoulder alternately, but nearly all pleats run upwards to both shoulders after bending on the front. It is also striking that the body is much less visible through the garment which consequently gives the impression of thick and heavy material, this apparently being the sculptor's intention, that is, if he wanted to imitate the Buddha type from Gandhāra correctly. Remarkable also is the drooping shoulder-line which gives a somewhat thick-set appearance to both images. A further peculiarity is the triangle formed by the drapery on both sides of the neck (see textfig. 13).

Another reason for dating these images later than the two images just discussed is the way in which the material, gathered up by the left hand, falls down clumsily and stiffly, without the slightest ruffle. This is a facet of the tendency we find again and again in this transitional period, viz. that a certain stiffening and woodenness appear during the copying-period at Mathurā.



Texfig. 13. Drapery around the neck

The left hands of these Buddhas lifting the lappet are still pressed against the chest. Their right hands are raised in abhayamudrā, while the palms are turned directly to the front, which was not the case in the kapardin type. The finger-tips, however, still point a little to the left.

It is most striking that the Buddhas in figs. 39 and 40 raise their hands less high than the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 33 and 36. The latter lift their hands above the prominent breasts, while the hands of the Buddha at Boston, for instance, reach only just as high as the breasts, and the elbows are consequently resting on the thighs. This is a very striking difference between Buddhas of the kapardin type as well as the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 33 and 36, and those Buddhas with influence from Gandhāra now discussed and still to be dealt with. This fact, added to other peculiarities already mentioned, point to the fact that the Buddhas in figs. 33 and 36 are very strongly related to those of the kapardin type, while the two images in figs. 39 and 40 betray an influence from

Gandhāra on Mathurā increasing more and more. Another important point in which the now discussed Buddhas differ from those in figs. 33 and 36 is that the traditional two acolytes have disappeared, and that apart from the nimbus which unfortunately has been broken off, the images appear without a background.

The pedestals have also changed, which is partly owing to an increasing influence from Gandhāra. BACHHOFER pointed out that the small lions represented "en face" on either side of the base were a novelty at Mathurā, probably introduced from Gandhāra [138]). The animals partly preserve the outward appearance they already showed on the pedestals of the Buddhas of the kapardin type. Thus the manes hang down in a point on the front of the chest, and the hair on the head forms a little triangle between the ears, pointing downwards over the forehead. The first is illustrated by the lion on the right of the pedestals of the Buddha from Anyor [139]), and the second by the lion on the left of the pedestal of the Buddha at Boston. It is striking how clumsily and shapelessly the animals have been carved out in both sculptures —especially their legs, which are far too short. The seated lions in profile and in full face on the pedestals of the Buddhas of the kapardin type, on the other hand, have been modelled with a certain ability. Was the difficulty for the sculptors of Mathurā perhaps the fact that they were accustomed to reproduce seated lions up till then, while a standing lion was required of them now? That this last was intended should, in our opinion, appear from the fact that the protruding thigh bones are no longer visible on either side of the body, as in the seated lion in the middle of the seat of the Buddhas of the kapardin type. Be this as it may, the animals have turned out to be mis-shapen monsters, which proves

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138) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* vol. I, p. 108. Although the small lions "en face" at the corners of a throne were not unknown either, witness the throne of the image of Wima Kadphises, see J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. II. But this throne might also have been brought along by the Kuṣāṇas from Central Asia.

139) This can be seen more clearly on another photograph of this image in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, N° 27.

that a thorough mastery of representing them had by no means been yet achieved.

In this connection we should just like to discuss a very interesting seat, a photograph of which is reproduced in fig. 42. It is a single pedestal, meant to carry a separate Buddha image. Apparently image and seat were not always made out of one piece. Accordingly we cannot join in with VOGEL's remark: "Le piédestal à scène de dévotion n'est pas un accessoire nécessaire des images de ce genre." 140) The image at Sanchi which he mentions as having no pedestal might just as well have had a separate base like the one depicted in fig. 37. The top-slab is supported by two small lions. The ears of both animals as well as the protruding left eye of the left lion are distinctly visible. Instead of the two legs, we see a row of little triangles, the points of which are directed downwards. The explanation we should like to give for this is that the sculptor has tried to imitate an example from Gandhāra, for there we very often find ordinary chair-legs under the seat 141). These repeatedly take the shape of a lion's claw 142) the nails of which have been conventionalized into little triangles 143), like those on the small bench from Mathurā, and in the flourishing period and afterwards the upper end of the leg often shows a lion's head 144). It is very probable that these legs go back to a model from the Roman West, while they in their turn have served as a model for the seat at Mathurā 145). That the sculptor of this piece consciously copied a North-West Indian seat appears not only from the legs but also from the covering of the seat with a cushion and kuśa-grass. The sculptor indicated this by rows of horizontal lines placed over one another with a kind of hanging fringe below. Such a covering of the

140) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* p. 38.

141) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.,* vol. I, fig. 245, p. 491; vol. II, fig. 482, p. 501.

142) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.,* vol. I, fig. 130, p. 251; vol. II, fig. 479, p. 493.

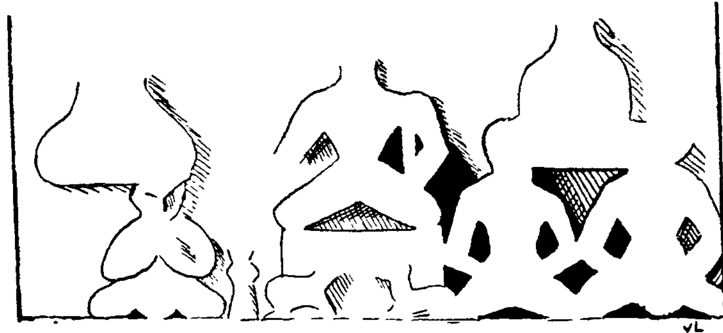
143) E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.,* Neue Folge, vol. VI, pl. 35, c.

144) L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen,* pl. 4; A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.,* vol. II, fig. 423, p. 231; fig. 424, p. 233.

145) Seats with animal legs might have been known in India already before that time, see A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Buddhist reliefs from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvatī, Rūpam,* Nos 38-39, Calcutta 1929, pp. 70-76, esp. p. 72 and fig. 3.

seat is not an original idea of the sculptor at Mathurā, as we already find it on several very early North-West Indian reliefs, and undoubtedly the man from Mathurā has copied this along with many other things from Gandhāra. Examples of a similar covering of the seat can be found in North-West India, e.g. on the stūpa of Sikrī [146]) (see also figs. 9 and 17).

A last argument for the fact that this pedestal was copied from North-West India, is the scene represented between the legs of



Textfig. 14. Relief of fig. 42

the small bench (see textfig. 14). For in the centre we see a figure seated on a dais. To the left and right of this figure are still traces of two, resp. three smaller figures in dhyānamudrā. To the left of the seat an indistinguishable object is placed, and in front of the seat the vague outlines of two animals lying down facing each other are to be seen. In all probability the first preaching in the deer-park has been represented here. The five small figures are the five former disciples of the Master, and the indistinct object might be the Wheel of Law which he puts in motion. Unfortunately the right arm of the Master is worn away, so that it is not certain whether he is lifting it in abhayamudrā or extending it towards the wheel. Now, it is striking that the sculptures at Mathurā—in later times as well—nearly always represent the donors of the

146) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. I, fig. 210, 212, 242, 252, 254, resp. on pp. 417, 421, 481, 509, 513, or: *Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sikri (Gandhāra), J.A.*, 10e série, tome II, 1903, pl. I, IV, VI, XII, XIII.

image on the pedestal, be it in some cases on either side of a Buddha or Bodhisattva, instead of on either side of a holy symbol as in former times. In Gandhāra, however, it is not exceptional for some scene from the Master's life to be depicted on the seat. This induces us to put forward the representation on the front of the seat as an argument in favour of our opinion that the piece is a copy of a North-West Indian seat [147]).

On account of the foregoing it would be interesting to trace whether the clumsiness of the small lions of the seats reproduced in figs. 39 and 40 might be due to the fact that a similar North-West Indian bench with lion-legs was copied in Mathurā without proper understanding, so that an attempt was made to give the lion-leg-supports the form of normal animals. We do not dare take a decision in this matter, although the points mentioned do seem acceptable.

But let us return to our discussion. The fact that the centre of the seats reproduced in figs. 39 and 40 is occupied by a seated Buddha figure with worshippers on either side, seems to be another argument for our opinion that these two images represent a further stage of development, probably owing to increasing influence from Gandhāra. As far as we have been able to check, the pedestals of the Buddhas of the kapardin type never show a Buddha or a Bodhisattva figure between two adorants in the centre, but a lion "en face" or else a religious symbol such as cakra or triratna. The third possibility, the centre left blank and only some donors in the space between the lions at the corners, is limited—as far as we know—to one example and can, it would appear, result from lack of room in this particular piece. In the kapardin type the number of figures on the base often tallies with the number of persons summed up in the dedicatory inscription as the pious founders of the image, so that we may just as well consider these figures of

147) For a like copy, where also for lack of space in the relief the disciples are carved one above the other, see the upper part of fig. 53; further: J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. LIII, c and pl. LI, a. In the two first cases the deer are omitted. A relief from Gandhāra which greatly resembles the copy in question is reproduced by H. HARGREAVES, *The Buddha Story in Stone*, Calcutta 1914, pl. XXII, p. 29.

worshippers as representations of those who gave the commission for the respective sculptures, or as the donor and his family. Now as we have already seen [148]) it was customary in Gandhāra to reproduce on the Buddha's seat a tableau in which a scene from the Master's life was to be seen. We therefore think it likely that this element in the sculptures in figs. 39 and 40 is due to influence from Gandhāra.

But there is more. In contradistinction to all earlier pedestals known to us both sculptures show only two worshippers on the seat. Besides, Indra and Brahmā no longer flank the large image of the Buddha on the pedestal, as is usual with the kapardin type. It might be that these two acolytes, instead of standing beside the Master, are now represented on the front of the seat as adorants of a small Buddha figure. The representation of the worship by Brahmā and Indra, as we usually meet it in images of the kapardin type, would then have been removed as a whole to the base, which is interesting as, in our opinion, precisely the seats in Gandhāra often show these two great gods represented as standing worshippers on either side of a Buddha. On the pedestal of the Buddha of Anyor the figure at our right seems to wear a turban, while the left one is bareheaded [149]). This could confirm our hypothesis, as the head-dress forms a means of distinguishing the two gods from one another in Gandhāra. However, as the reliefs on the pedestals of figs. 39 and 40 are badly worn away, there can unfortunately be no certainty about the identity of the worshippers on the front of the seats.

Should it appear in the long run that at this time Brahmā and Indra were indeed represented as acolytes of a tiny Buddha figure on the pedestals at Mathurā [150]), then we can state already now that this custom, adopted in that case from North-West India, did

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148) See pp. 192-193.

149) This can be seen more clearly on another photograph of this image, in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, N° 27.

150) We must not confound this sort of representation with the one on the pedestal of fig. 33, for there the two gods are clearly bringing homage to the large Buddha on the seat, and there is no small Buddha figure between Brahmā and Indra.

not last long, and actually only existed in these copies of examples from Gandhāra. Soon the assimilation-process at Mathurā begins, in the course of which those influences from North-West India are modified or even rejected, and the characteristics of the kapardin type reappear. One of these characteristics of the old native type was that the donors were represented on the pedestal, and in fact we see these donors reproduced again on the front of seats of a somewhat later period.

Furthermore, the fact that the Buddha figure on the pedestal of the image from Anyor is seated in dhyānamudrā deserves our attention, because this is very unusual in the school of Mathurā, for we have observed during our investigations that the Buddhas at Mathurā are nearly always represented in abhayamudrā, while the dhyānamudrā is customary in the Jina images. This new mudrā is also probably an influence from North-West India, where the various mudrās as: vāramudrā, dhyānamudrā and bhūmisparśa-mudrā, were often applied. From the fact that a Buddha in dhyānamudrā is represented on the pedestal of the image from Anyor (which, as we will see, was made about the year 130 A.D. or perhaps somewhat earlier), we might draw the conclusion that this new mudrā appeared in the art of Mathurā about the same time, together with other influences from Gandhāra.

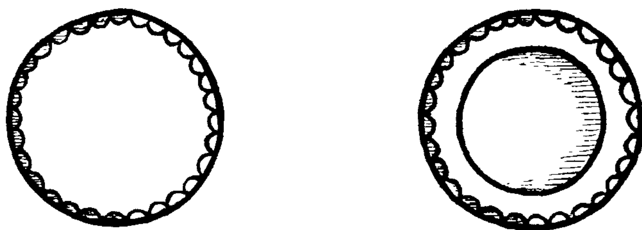
Another very important innovation in the Buddha from Anyor and that at Boston is that the hair is no longer represented smoothly, as on the Buddhas of the kapardin type and the oldest examples from the group of images influenced by Gandhāra; the hair is now indicated by semi-circular scratches, covering the head in rows [151]) (figs. 58 and 69). Obviously the sculptors intended to imitate the curly hair of the Buddha from Gandhāra. Wavy hair was something never hitherto reproduced in the art of Mathurā and the way in which it is now done is indeed extremely clumsy and not very satisfactory. The sculptors of Mathurā did know curly frizzy hair; they represented this by round

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151) For the development which the indication of the hair undergoes see figs. 68-72.

spirals over the whole of the head in the form of snail-shells [152]). This hair-dressing was often worn by dwarfs and Yakṣas. But we will return to this later on, and it is enough to state here that the endeavour to copy the slightly wavy hair of the Buddhas from Gandhāra was not very successful.

As a final point of difference between the images in figs. 39 and 40, compared with those in figs. 33 and 36, we can mention



Textfig. 15.

a: Nimbus in early Kuṣāṇa art *b*: Nimbus of fig. 40

the following: in the Buddha image depicted in fig. 40 (and slightly in fig. 39 as well) we see that the nimbus begins to undergo a change. It is still the nimbus with scallops along the edge, as was customary in the images from the national school of Mathurā, but now in a rather more developed stage, for the surface of the halo is no longer smooth and a deeper part begins more towards the middle of the disk, so that an invertedly scalloped ridge stands out on the nimbus (see textfig. 15).

Now the Buddha from Anyor is dated in the year 51, which undoubtedly refers to the era of Kaniṣka, judging from the form of the characters and the stylistic development of the image. This gives us a fixed point, and so we can roughly assume that those images showing a stylistic development which is in a less advanced

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152) Examples of this last method of representing hair can be found in L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 22; J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XVI, c, XVIII, XLIV, e, XLIX, b, LIX, b; A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *La sculpture de Bodhgayā, Ars Asiatica,* vol. XVIII, Paris 1935, pl. XXXIX, XL, and LVIII; L. BACHHOFER, *Eine Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodh Gaya, Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst,* vol. 2, Leipzig 1925, pp. 73-76, and in a relief in the British Museum, reproduced in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 9, 1907-'08, by H. LÜDERS, *Three early Brāhmī Inscriptions,* pl. opposite p. 239.

stage than the Buddha from Anyor have to be dated before the year 129 A.D., and those showing a later phase of development afterwards. The Buddha at Boston must be of about the same time, for on the whole both images are very like each other, e.g. the pleating on and around the knees (see textfig. 18 on p. 200), the shape of the small lions with the short legs, the outlines of the adorants, the way in which the folds of the garment form two little triangles on both sides of the neck (see textfig. 13, p. 189), all this strongly points to a—chronologically speaking—close relation between the two Buddhas.

There are two points in which fig. 40 differs. Firstly there is in the centre of the base, judging by the contours, a figure that is reminiscent of a Buddha of the kapardin type, but which might also be a Bodhisattva. His right hand is lifted in abhayamudrā, seemingly as high as the shoulder, which is *not* the case with the Buddhas influenced by Gandhāra at the stage of development, shown by the Buddha on this pedestal and that from Anyor, but which on the contrary is a very characteristic attitude of the Buddhas from the older school of Mathurā. Furthermore his left hand is leaning on his left knee which is also a pose typical of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the kapardin type. We are unfortunately unable to decide whether the figure is a Buddha or a Bodhisattva.

The second point of difference we should like to notice is that the sculptor of the image in fig. 40 had difficulties with the arrangement of the folds on the front. It did not fit very well, so he filled up the remaining space with some lines forming a triangle. The sculptor obviously had not yet mastered the newer way of indicating folds, in which the pleats were grooved more closely together so that the ribbed effect was caused which we have already discussed. The sculptor of the Buddha of Anyor, however, solved this difficulty without resorting to such an unpleasing and ugly way out. The cause of this slight difference between both images should not necessarily be a chronological difference, but can also be due to a more or less technical ability.

On comparing the images reproduced in figs. 33 and 36 with

the two just discussed, the former clearly occupy an earlier place because of the peculiarities enumerated on pp. 187-188, originating from the kapardin type.

The qualities by which the Buddhas represented in figs. 39 and 40 differ from the preceding two, point to a very strong influence from Gandhāra, and it does not seem exaggeration to call them copies.

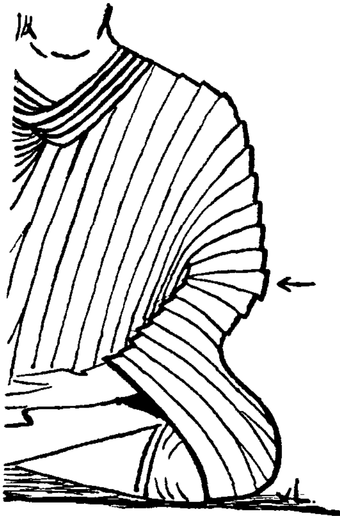
With regard to the Buddha reproduced in fig. 37 [153]), it is our opinion that it is about contemporary in its development with the Buddha of Anyor. Unfortunately head and nimbus have been lost, and apparently the seat was made separately, so we cannot draw any conclusions about it. The folds around the neck still have the V-shape forming the little triangle on either side, but the modelling of the folds in general is beginning to change. The pleats are lying one over the other, giving the impression of shutters, a process of stiffening, following after the "rib-effect" of the images reproduced in figs. 39 and 40. Closely scrutinizing this, however, we notice that the pleats from the shoulders down to the elbow are arranged in such a way that the lower pleat always covers the upper one. Under the elbow this apparently changes, for on the fore-arm we see that the upper pleat always covers the lower one. So somewhere near the elbow the direction of the folding changes. On the reproduction of this image we cannot see how this comes about, but in a later image it can be seen how it is done, and probably the same method was used in the image under discussion. We have in mind the Buddha image found at Sanchi [154]). At the elbow it shows a box-pleat, and we take it that this was also the case in the garment of the Buddha reproduced in fig. 37. The explanation of this strange pleating is probably that the chisel is much more easily driven into the stone from above downwards than the other way round, and thus the pleats above the elbow

153) Indian Museum, RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, *The Mathura School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1922-'23, pl. XXXIX, e; *Ann. Prog. Rep. Superintendant Arch. Surv. Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle for the year 1917*, p. 9.

154) Reproduced in *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1912-'13, part I, pl. VIII, d and M. M. HAMID, Pandit R. C. KAK and RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State*, Calcutta 1922, pl. II, N° 19.

fold over from below upwards. Where the arm bends in the elbow it becomes very difficult to cut the stone towards oneself and it is more simple to drive the chisel into the stone away from oneself in the other direction, so that the pleats on the fore-arm fold over downwards (see textfig. 16).

Although the breasts are still prominent the figure itself seems a little more thick-set, and it has lost the slenderness, characteristic of the Buddhas of the kapardin type. The cause of this thick-set appearance is chiefly that the shoulder-line drops very strongly along the upper arm, and also that the knees protrude a good distance sideways beyond the shoulders or even the elbows; or more simply said, compactness ensues from the fact that the figure is much broader below than above. Because of these facts the space into which the image can, as it were, be comprised takes the form of a triangle (see textfig. 17).



Textfig. 16
Box-pleat at the elbow

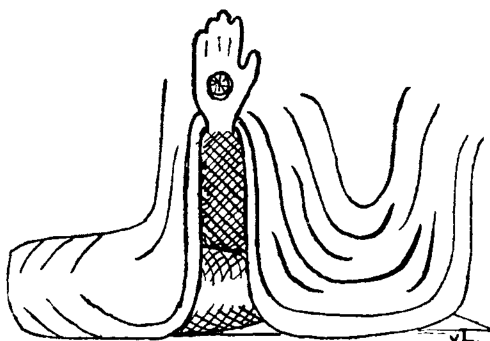


Textfig. 17.
Composition-space of fig. 37

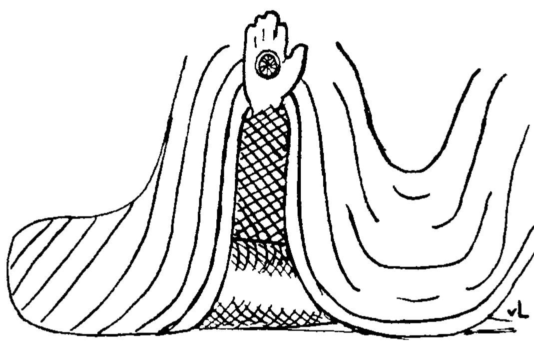
Another point in which a progressive development is apparent is the hands, the right one probably lifted in abhaymudrā, and the left one raising the lappet of the garment, both having become quite detached from the chest, for although they are destroyed, no trace of the connection is to be seen anywhere on the chest or upper arm. Also the lappet of the material falls down more conventionalized in stiff pleats.

Other elements, however, do not point to progress, but remind us of the Buddha in fig. 33, e.g. the curve of the pleats on the front: a pleat-groove runs down alternately from each shoulder, exactly as on the Buddhas in figs. 33 and 36; further the pleat-

grooves on and around the knees remind us of the Buddha in fig. 33. In the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 39 and 40 these grooves on top of the knee consist of lines running obliquely upwards to the middle-line of the image, and below the knees of lines running obliquely downwards to the middle-line of the image (see textfig. 18). The Buddha reproduced in fig. 37 still shows the same treatment of the folds as that in fig. 33. Here the lines run immediately from under the knees obliquely upwards to the middle-line of the image (see textfig. 19).



Textfig. 18. Pleating on the knees of figs. 39 and 40



Textfig. 19. Pleating on the knees of figs. 33 and 37

On the front of the plinth is an inscription published by RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, who said about it:

"The votive inscription on the pedestal of the other seated Buddha of the Kushan period, an ill-executed and lifeless copy of the Gandhara type, is very badly mutilated ...... *(ha) rajasa Deva* ...... is clear in the beginning, and the date portion of which the letters are defaced I venture to restore as, *sava 30 gri di.* Huvishka began to reign from the year 29 if not from the end of the year 28, the last known date of Vasishka, so that this image also belongs to the reign of Huvishka." [155])

So according to RAMAPRASAD CHANDA the piece would date from the year 30 of the Kaniṣka era. In our opinion this is quite

155) RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, *The Mathura School of Sculpture. A.S.I.A R.*, 1922-'23, pp. 164-170, esp. p. 168.

impossible, as the style of art distinctly shows that the piece must be about contemporary with the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era. BACHHOFER also protested against this version of CHANDA. He says about it:

"Die Lesung scheint mir aber, soweit die Abbildung erkennen lässt, durchaus nicht einwandfrei. Nur „di" ist unzweifelhaft zu erkennen, die Lesung „gri" für das betreffende Zeichen aber ist nicht überzeugend und damit verschiebt sich auch die Lesung der anderen Zeichen." [156])

Unfortunately what was inscribed where the date ought to be, is no longer clearly discernable. In our opinion the first line of the inscription might have read: "(Ma)harajasa Deva(putrasa)...... sa sa ...... he 2 di 10 9 ...." [157]) Such a large space remains for the date that the number was probably expressed in words and in fact we think we can distinguish three akṣaras in the rubbing of DAYA RAM SAHNI. The first character strongly resembles a *pa* with an anusvāra above it, the second one might be a *ca,* while the third one is probably a *sa,* so that the date would be *paṃcas(e)* i.e. in the fiftieth year. However, this is no more than a supposition.

Only the last akṣara *sa* remains of the monarch's name, which is not sufficient evidence, this being the genitive ending necessary for the name of a monarch in this place in the inscription. As the last three akṣaras of the word *Deva(putrasa)* are no longer legible either, the gap is so large that it is not easy to make out which monarch's name was inscribed there, but the space remaining for it seems to us rather narrow, so the name of Huviṣka would fit in better than that of Vāsudeva, which is one akṣara longer. This would also tally better with the supposition that the year 50 is mentioned, as the last known year of Huviṣka is 60, while the inscriptions of Vāsudeva begin with the year 62 and continue until the year 98 of the Kaniṣka era. On style-critical grounds we may in any case assume that the image in question dates from about the

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156) L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, vol. I, p. 106, note 5.

157) Rubbing in DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Seven Inscriptions from Mathura, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 19, 1927-'28, pp. 65-69, esp. p. 66, N° III. SAHNI reads the first words almost the same.

year 50 of the Kaniṣka era, that is, about the year 128 A.D. for which the inscription offers further confirmation, even if not very strong.

The following period is by no means rich in detached Buddhas, and it is a long time before the next image appears: a new type of Buddha images in the school of Mathurā, at first sight chiefly distinguishable from the previous images by the fact that the lower part of the legs is uncovered and that the folds of the monk's robe no longer fall down from both shoulders, but fall down partly from the left shoulder and partly drape to the right and then run up to the right arm and shoulder with the result that the robe shows a fan-like drapery. The oldest detached sculptures known of this later type are the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, reproduced in fig. 43 and that of Sītalā Ghāṭī [158]), reproduced in fig. 44. The first mentioned image was found by Sir JOHN MARSHALL when excavating the grounds of the former Śrāvastī, in the same year as that in which the fragment of a Buddha image of the kapardin type was brought to light, on which an inscription mentioned that this image was consecrated in the garden called Jetavana, which for MARSHALL was conclusive proof [159]) that CUNNINGHAM had indeed re-discovered the old Śrāvastī at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh [160]). In his report on the excavations he says about the image:

"There was a circular halo behind the head, of which a small fragment remains on each side ornamented with the design of a full-blown lotus, the same design being reproduced on a larger scale on the back of the halo. The robe of the Buddha is carried over both shoulders and down the back. Between the lions on the pedestal is a relief representing a seated Bōdhisattva with two attendants bearing garlands on either side of him, and on the base below these figures, is a short inscription in late Kushaṇa characters. It reads *Sihadēvasya Pr(ā)var(i)kasya Sākētakasya*

158) Mathurā Museum, N° A. 21.

159) For further arguments see J. MARSHALL, *Notes on Archaeological Exploration in India 1908-'09, J.R.A.S.,* 1911, pp. 1053-1085, esp. p. 1065.

160) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. I, Simla 1871, pp. 330-348.

dēyadha(r)ma, and may be rendered, "The pious gift of Sihadēva, a Prāvarika of Sākēta (Ayōdhyā)." [161])

Although this does not provide us with a date we conclude, in comparison with other dated pieces, that the inscription must date from the later years of Vāsudeva, who reigned from 62-98 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. 140-176 A.D. Especially the form of the characters *ya, sa, ha, ka,* and the ligature *sya* can support this. What turns the scale, however, is the obvious occurrence of a pronounced so-called "box-head", the thickened upper end of the characters in the form of a thick nail-head, characteristic of the very last period of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. VOGEL also believes the form of the characters to be late: "Le témoignage paléographique de la dédicace nous y fait voir une oeuvre assez tardive; peut-être elle appartient au III^e siècle." [162])

This conclusion wholly fits in with the stage of stylistic development of the image, for the form of the shutter-like pleats has reached its culmination point of stiffening here. At the elbow we find again the box-pleat. The fold at the neck, however, abandons the V-shape with the sharp point below, and tends to become rounder with the inclination to become more natural. The little triangle formed by the folds on both sides of the neck in the images reproduced in figs. 37, 39 and 40, has now disappeared. The lifted lappet is wholly conventionalized to a triangular piece of material (see fig. 44), in which as a new element the fluted hem runs down zigzag [163]). We see this still more distinctly in the Bodhisattva from Gaṇeshrā, now in the Curzon Museum at Ma-

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161) J. H. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Sahēth-Mahēṭh, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1910-'11, pp. 1-24, esp. p. 12.

162) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* p. 38.

163) This peculiarity first met with in these images from the end of the Kuṣāṇa period is still to be found in the Gupta images, for instance in the Buddhas reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXXI, a; N° B. 22 of the Lucknow Provincial Museum; R. D. BANERJI, *Three Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1909-'10, pl. LIV, a; an image in the Indian Museum reproduced in RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, *The Mathura School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R., 1922-'23,* pl. 39, d, and an image a photograph of which is in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, N° 14 (Math. Museum, N° 437?).

thurā, numbered A. 45 [164]), which is not so much mutilated at this part as the two Buddhas discussed here.

The hands of the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī are chiselled quite free from the body, as there are no marks visible on the chest. A new feature is that the finger-tips point nearly straight upwards, while the fingers of the Buddhas in figs. 39 and 40 pointed a little to the left. The soles of the feet are quite flat without the detailed modelling which the kapardin type showed, and the two soles lie on one level against each other.

A further stylistic development is the attitude of the small lions, which are turned more inwards and the modelling of which is now strikingly better than in the Buddha images reproduced in figs. 39 and 40. Extremely important is moreover that these animals have changed from bas-relief to haut-relief, and it is striking how bulging their arched chests have grown. The manes no longer hang down in a point but are round and very long; furthermore their heads rise a little above the top-slab and their tongues protrude. Up till now they always had a supporting function, and the top-slab rested on their heads. That function has apparently now been removed from the head to the back. Furthermore it is remarkable that kuśa-grass has been represented on the Buddha's seat. We have already indicated above that this is probably due to influence from Gandhāra [165]).

During this transition-process in which the copy of the Buddha image from North-West India was at first accepted without criticism and afterwards absorbed and assimilated into the national art, several changes come about in the representation of the Master which have a nationalizing tendency. We have already alluded to that when dealing with the representation on the pedestal of the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 39 and 40. A distinct example of this inclination is found in the fact that the lower part of the legs are again given uncovered. Undoubtedly we must ascribe this charac-

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164) Reproduced in J. Ph. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, pl. X, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXXIII, a, and L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 85, fig. 2.

165) See pp. 191-192.

teristic of the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī to a new rise of the national traditions of art temporarily pushed back by the strong influence from Gandhāra.

This same process we regard as being the cause of the following: When comparing the appearance of the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī with that of the Buddhas of Anyor, Boston and the image reproduced in fig. 37 we see that the general stature of the images has changed. The tallness characteristic of the Buddhas of the kapardin type which we still find in the first figures influenced by Gandhāra, had already disappeared in the Buddhas in figs. 37, 39 and 40 and given way to a thick-set



Textfigs. 20 and 21. Composition-space of figs. 39 and 40

appearance, chiefly caused by the drooping shoulder-line; this in its turn has now made way for a certain cubical form. This is caused not only by the fact that the figure itself has acquired a much shorter torso, but mainly by the altered shoulder-line. This shoulder-line no longer runs down from the neck, merging almost imperceptibly at the shoulder-curve into the upper arm so that actually no shoulder-curve exists; on the contrary, the shoulder-line now slants only very faintly and runs almost horizontally, then makes a relatively sharp angle of almost 90° at the shoulder-curve, afterwards falling downwards almost perpendicularly (compare fig. 44 with 37). Now, in our opinion, this almost horizontal shoulder-line is a distinct characteristic of the Buddhas of the kapardin type, and that is why we take this new peculiarity of the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī as one of the aspects of the nationalizing process which is taking place in the Buddha image influenced by Gandhāra.

So the drooping shoulders have disappeared, and the upper part

of the body has become more thick-set. Consequently the imaginary composition-space in which we can visualize the figure to be comprised, no longer has a triangular form (see textfig. 17, p. 199), but rather that of an equilateral trapezium which strongly approaches the form of a rectangle on which the head is placed as a circle (see textfig. 20). If we want to comprise the head also within the composition-space, as we have done with the Buddha in fig. 37, the composition-space takes the form of a parabola (see textfig. 21). But in any case it is clear that this is a point of decided difference between the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī on the one hand, and those reproduced in figs. 37, 39 and 40 on the other.

The next point from which the nationalization of the Buddha is apparent is the representation of the hair by means of curls like snail-shells. This way of indicating curly hair had existed in the art of India for a long time [166]), but it is now applied to the Buddha image also [167]). Examples of this kind of hair-indication have already been given in note 152, and we only add here that the fact that this kind of hair was often worn by Yakṣa-like figures was perhaps one of the reasons that induced the sculptors to represent it also on the head of the Buddha. For in the mind of the masses the Buddha approached their conception of Yakṣas, and as for the earliest Buddha representations they almost completely copied the already existing representations of Yakṣas, who had the semblance of monarchs. It goes without saying that when the sculptors at Mathurā, after having slavishly imitated the example from Gandhāra for a short period, succeeded in dissociating themselves from this copying and again began to represent the figure of the Master according to their own old traditions, they restored

166) SAHNI says that it occurs for the first time in Gupta art, DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth,* Calcutta 1914, p. 33, note 8; but, as appears from the images we are dicussing now, it occurs much earlier. On p. 75 of the catalogue, however, SAHNI seems to have realized that the change took place earlier, but now he reverts the sequence between Gandhāra and Mathurā, saying that Mathurā copied the curls from Gandhāra.

167) L. BACHHOFER on p. 113 of his *Die frühindische Plastik* mentions a Jina image of the year 15 of the Kaniṣka era as an early example of snail-shell curls; this, however, is not correct; the image dates from the year 193 A.D., see Ch. IV, pp. 241-244.

in several particular parts of the image a technique or tradition known to them of old. In the same way the sculptors, when for some reason or other they looked for another way of representing wavy hair (perhaps because of the fact that in the long run the technique of the rows of semi-circular lines was not satisfactory), restored a way of representing wavy hair, that was known to them.

COOMARASWAMY's opinion with regard to this change in the representation of the hair comes to this: The *uṣṇīṣa lakṣaṇa* can be translated as "destined to wear a turban". The change of the conception "turban" into the conception "protuberance of the skull" in the word *uṣṇīṣa* can be explained, in COOMARASWAMY's opinion, by assuming that in later times, viz. in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. "... the old books would have been examined with a view to testing the propriety of the current representations (viz. of the Buddha), and naturally the passages relating to the lakkhaṇas would have been first consulted, for these would constitute the only "Śilpaśāstra" then available on the subject. It was assumed that the lakkhaṇas having been recognised in infancy must have been present in infancy, and so uṇhīso-sīso had to be interpreted as a physical appearance. The result was the representation of the uṣṇīṣa or uṇhīsa as a protuberance; and at the same time, as we have seen, the tonsure was reinterpreted as resulting in a crop of short curls, rather than in a single coil." [168]) Consequently, according to COOMARASWAMY, the change in the way of representing the hair occurs at about the same time as, and as a result of, the change in the significance of the word *uṣṇīṣa* from "turban" into "protuberance".

COOMARASWAMY tries to explain this sudden change of one large curl or coil on top of the head into numerous smaller curls spread over the whole head by the fact that on most reliefs we see that the Buddha having grasped his hair into a tuft cuts it off with his sword. In this way the hair cannot become of equal length all over, according to COOMARASWAMY. The *Nidānakathā* states, however, that "the hair was reduced to two inches in length

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168) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa, and Crown*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 815-841, esp. pp. 833-834.

and curling from the right lay close to the head, remaining at that length as long as he lived" [169]). From this COOMARASWAMY draws the conclusion that "it must have come to be believed that the hair, instead of being cut off at a single stroke, had been shorn by a succession of strokes, leaving the hair of equal length all over the head, as would seem to have been inevitable if turban and hair were removed together, in accordance with the literary tradition. In other words, the representation of many curls would seem to bring the formula into closer correspondence with the literary tradition; but, further than this, we cannot say just why the change was made in the plastic representations, especially as the actual tonsure continued to be, and is always represented as, the cutting of a single tress. But, whatever the reasons for the change may have been, and wherever it was first made, it is clear that the literary and plastic traditions together provide a rational and sufficient explanation for the representation of the Buddha's hair either in one curl or in many curls." [170])

That is COOMARASWAMY's explanation of the origin of the snail-shell curls all over the head of the Buddha, though he admits he does not know exactly why the change in the plastic representation was introduced. The argument of KONOW that the protuberance of the skull should be traced to the belief of being born "with a caul", is not convincing either [171]). Both argumentations are not very satisfactory. But let us first summarize the opinion of FOUCHER before we try to formulate our own point of view about this ticklish subject.

COOMARASWAMY in his article mentioned before summarized this opinion as follows:

"Gandhāran sculptors made the first Buddha images, and represented the hair in flowing tresses gathered together into a topknot in Indian fashion, *avoiding the representation of a protuberance for aesthetic reasons. Indian imitators,* dissatisfied with so obvious

169) *Nidānakathā*, ed. FAUSBÖLL, vol. I, p. 64.

170) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa, and Crown, J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 828.

171) S. KONOW, *Note on the Buddha's jālalakṣaṇa, Acta Or.*, vol. X, 1932, pp. 298-301, esp. p. 299.

a departure from the facts as they must have been, for all are agreed that the Bodhisattva cut off his hair, *interpreted the Gandhāra chignon as covering a cranial bump and supposed that this bump was what had been referred to in the phrase uṇhīso-sīso of the Mahapadāna* (sic) *Sutta*; they replaced the long hair with short curls (more or less in accordance with the tradition preserved in the Nidānakathā), leaving the cranial bump conspicuously in evidence. In this case, evidently the Gandhāran sculptors accepted the correction made by their *Indian brethren,* for the type with the protuberance and the short curls very soon predominates *in both areas.*" 172)

Let us read what FOUCHER says in vol. II of his *L'art gréco-bouddhique* on page 297:

"Et en effet, la routine des imitateurs gandhāriens vient de créer de toutes pièces la bosse de l'uṣṇīṣa, dans l'acception bouddhique et postérieure du mot. Quant aux créateurs du type, ils ne sont, encore une fois, pour rien dans cette grotesque déformation. Ce serait leur faire tort que de les en accuser; et ils ne comprendraient pas davantage qu'on leur fît compliment d'avoir su dissimuler la difformité de l'uṣṇīṣa sous un crôbyle à la grecque. La question ne se posait pas pour eux." 173)

The incorrect interpretation by COOMARASWAMY of FOUCHER's theory is, that the Indian imitators (viz. the school of Mathurā) of the North-West Indian Buddha image covered the head with short curls, in order to meet the objections of pious laymen based on the texts 174). FOUCHER obviously means with "imitateurs gandhāriens" the epigones in Gandhāra itself as appears from the context and the fact that he demonstrates the slow change in the representation of the hair on the basis of examples from Gandhāra only 175).

Moreover, COOMARASWAMY did not understand that in FOU-

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172) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa, and Crown, J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 832; italicized by us.

173) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 297.

174) Ibidem, p. 295.

175) Ibidem, p. 701.

CHER's opinion the word *uṣṇīṣa* did not yet mean "cranial bump" when the first images of the Master were created in Gandhāra, and that a change in the significance of the word took place only later on, when the faithful urged the sculptor to depict the Master more in accordance with tradition. WALDSCHMIDT thinks this is impossible on account of the antiquity of the lakṣaṇa list [176]). However, we do not see why it should be impossible for one of the lakṣaṇas, even admitting that it was incorporated into the lakṣaṇa list long before that, to undergo a gradual change in significance. But in addition to this it is quite clear that the uṣṇīṣalakṣaṇa was only added later on to the list by Buddhists, as it does not occur in other lists of lakṣaṇas of a Mahāpuruṣa [177]).

We quite agree with FOUCHER that "a priori" the hair-dressing of the Buddhas from Gandhāra was not meant as a protuberance of the skull. CODRINGTON on the contrary says that the naturalistically waved hair suggests an attempt to disguise the uṣṇīṣa [178]). The fact that the artists of North-West India represent only a hair-coil and nothing else is emphasized by the fact that numerous Buddha heads show a fillet around the knot (sometimes with a socket for a precious stone in front), meant to keep the hair together (see figs. 7 and 41). This shows clearly that in the beginning *uṣṇīṣa* did not yet have the significance of "protuberance of the skull". We have tried to show the same thing for Mathurā and refer our readers to pp. 162-168. It is not very probable that the pious laymen were shocked at the representation of the Buddha with a hair-coil on the head. Did not the lists of lakṣaṇas also mention an "uṣṇīṣa" (in the signification of "hair-coil") on the Buddha's head? When, finally, the texts state that the hair curls to the right, this need not necessarily pertain to many curls on the head, as COOMARASWAMY thinks, for this specification may refer to the

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176) E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.,* Neue Folge, Band VI, Heft 6, 1930, pp. 265-277, esp. pp. 271 and 275.

177) E. SENART, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha, son caractère et ses origines,* 2nd ed., Paris 1882, pp. 125-126.

178) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *Ancient India,* p. 55.

kaparda as well [179]. In general, the descriptions of the characteristics of the body of a Mahāpuruṣa are open to more than one explanation or translation, and that is why so many different opinions could arise with regard to this point. We do agree with FOUCHER that the genesis of the protuberance of the skull must be connected with the change in the representation of the hair. However, the place where this process was enacted, in our opinion is not Gandhāra but Mathurā.

We believe COOMARASWAMY's mistake lies in the fact that he reverses the sequence of the changes taking place, so that according to him the tradition of the *Nidānakathā* and other texts should have determined the appearance of the Buddha image in advance. Besides, COOMARASWAMY as well as FOUCHER did not pay attention to the fact that between the two ways of representing hair already mentioned, the method by which the wavy hair is indicated by small semi-circular lines has to be inserted [180].

The process, in our opinion, has probably taken the following course: As long as the hair was rendered smoothly with the intertwined coil on top of the head it was clear at Mathurā that the uṣṇīṣa was a cluster of hair and not a protuberance. After that comes a phase in which curved lines were engraved on the smooth surface of the hair. Undoubtedly this technique of indicating the

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179) For instance in the *Nidānakathā*.

180) WALDSCHMIDT and BACHHOFER, who, for the rest, assume that the series of lakṣaṇas had already determined the appearance of the uṣṇīṣa as a protuberance of the skull before the creation of the first Buddha image, have, on the other hand, rightly remarked that as well as the two methods of representing hair mentioned by FOUCHER and COOMARASWAMY a third manner existed. According to WALDSCHMIDT an endeavour was made "die Bilder in Einklang mit den kanonischen Anforderungen der Lakṣaṇas zu bringen", E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. VI, 1930, p. 274. BACHHOFER says: "Um zu verstehen, wie Mathura zur Bildung der Schneckenlöckchen gekommen sei, müsste an den offenkundigen Widerwillen seiner Bildhauer, und damit wohl auch seiner Gläubigen, gegen den Lockenkopf eines Gandhara-Buddha und der damit verbundenen Verunklärung des ushnisha" (viz. in Gandhāra) "erinnert werden ... auf den Schädelauswuchs, als Zeichen eines übermenschlichen Wesens, konnte und wollte man nicht verzichten", *Die frühindische Plastik*. p. 113.

hair must be considered as an attempt of the sculptors of Mathurā to imitate the wavy hair of the Buddha images from Gandhāra, and in the same way an attempt was made to represent the hair-coil on top of the head. At that time it was doubtless still realized that the raised part of the head represented a knot of wavy hair and not a protuberance of the skull [181]). After a short time this technique of small semi-circular lines was, for some reason or other, no longer satisfactory, and it was substituted by that of snail-shell curls, perhaps because this way of representing curly hair was better known and appealed more to the people at Mathurā than the other method, while, moreover, the fact that the Yakṣa element, as we have seen, is rather prominent in the early Buddha images, may have played its part as well [182]).

As long as those small semi-circular lines representing long hair covered the head, it was still realized that the raised part on the head was a knot of hair. This is proved by a Buddha head reproduced by BANERJEA which is already covered with semi-circular lines, whereas the uṣṇīṣa is still indicated as the twisted top-knot of the kapardin type [183]). This appears further from a head from Gandhāra in the Museum for Ethnology at Munich (see fig. 41), which also shows small semi-circular lines, probably in its turn in imitation of Mathurā, for in Gandhāra this representation of hair is very exceptional, while at Mathurā it is very common during a certain period. Now this head shows a fillet around the knot of hair holding it together having a socket for the (now disappeared) precious stone in front. When, however, at Mathurā the snail-shell curls, which indeed can create the impression of short frizzy hair, began to be reproduced on the same shape of head, the impression of a knot of hair was eventually lost, and so it came to be believed that a protuberance and not a knot was meant. As a consequence

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181) BACHHOFER is of another opinion; he thinks "... dass in Mathura der Begriff ushnisha stets im Sinne von Schädelauswuchs verstanden worden ist", *Die frühindische Plastik*, p. 111.

182) See for this development in the indication of the hair figs. 68-72.

183) J. N. BANERJEA, *Uṣṇīṣa-Śiraskatā (a mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa) in the early Buddha images of India, Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VII, 1931, pp. 499-514, esp. pl. II, opposite p. 507; henceforth abbreviated as *I.H.Q.*

of this, the significance of the word *uṣṇīṣa* changed for the second time, now from "hair-coil" into "protuberance of the skull" [184]), so that, in our opinion, the change in the meaning is secondary to the plastic alteration, and not primary as COOMARASWAMY thinks. Neither can we share FOUCHER's conception that the plastic change would have taken place first in Gandhāra, nor that it took place because "... les fidèles ont fini par être choqués de la contradiction par trop flagrante de ce luxuriant chignon avec la condition religieuse du Maître et les récits des textes sur la tonsure" [185]). Although we admit that the uṣṇīṣa (to be understood as hair-coil) was, from the outset, enumerated amongst the lakṣaṇas of the Buddha, yet we do not agree with the opinion that the uṣṇīṣa (to be understood as a protuberance) has always passed for one of the lakṣaṇas, but rather think that this conception only orginated in a much later time (certainly at the earliest at the end of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era), owing to indirect influence of the sculpture from North-West India.

Our opinion that the purport of the uṣṇīṣalakṣaṇa was not at first canonically fixed and that therefore not all lakṣaṇas were determined in advance, is confirmed by another example of a lakṣaṇa that was not fixed until later, viz. the jālalakṣaṇa, the web which should connect the Buddha's fingers. According to FOUCHER [186]) and BANERJEA [187]) this lakṣaṇa originally referred to the lines on the palms of the hands and on the soles of the feet. FOUCHER thinks that eventually it acquired the meaning of "web between the fingers". BANERJEA contests this. He thinks that the connection between the fingers is only present when the fingers needed a support in order to prevent breakage. This does not tally with the facts, for images in which the fingers are not detached and consequently do not require any support whatever, do show this

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184) This meaning is clear in the Tibetan version of the *Lalitavistara*. See E. BURNOUF, *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi*, Paris 1852, p. 558.

185) A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, p. 295.

186) Ibidem, pp. 306-312.

187) J. N. BANERJEA, *The "Webbed Fingers" of Buddha*, *I.H.Q.*, vol. VI, 1930, pp. 717-727.

web between the fingers [188]). This web therefore has in fact become a physical characteristic of the Buddha.

Another proof of this are the wall-paintings in Central Asia in which surely the fingers do not need a support, yet show the trellised web [189]). BANERJEA could impossibly explain this as a technical necessity. Following the evolution we see how the fingers were always rendered closely together in the school of Mathurā. In the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 39 and 40 the thumb begins to dissociate itself from the other fingers, but a connection remains, which we find again and again in later images. In this way we think the idea of a web between the fingers of the Buddha could have found acceptance, while originally it was only a precautionary measure of the sculptors.

STUTTERHEIM believes [190]) that the jālalakṣaṇa refers to the pink shine between the fingers, when the closed hand is held against the light. COOMARASWAMY for the greater part agrees with this point of view [191]) and finally KONOW thinks that the belief of webs between the fingers goes back to a popular belief [192]). In the long run the jālalakṣaṇa undoubtedly did not retain the meaning STUTTERHEIM attached to it. In our opinion this is clear enough from the representation of the web between the fingers of painted Buddha images from Central Asia and even from Buddhas of the later period of Gandhāra [193]). As early as the 2nd century A.D. it must already have been considered a characteristic of the body of a Buddha, witness the obvious lattice-work of the connection between the fingers of the Buddha of

188) For instance the Buddha reproduced in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. VI, 1930, pl. 35, c.

189) A. VON LE COQ, *Neue Bildwerke, Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. III, Berlin 1933, pl. 3.

190) W. F. STUTTERHEIM, *Le jālalakṣaṇa de l'Image du Bouddha, Acta Or.*, vol. VII, 1929, pp. 232-237.

191) A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The "Webbed finger" of Buddha, I.H.Q.*, vol. VII, 1931, pp. 365-366.

192) S. KONOW, *Note on the Buddha's jālalakṣaṇa, Acta Or.*, vol. X, 1932, pp. 298-301.

193) For example the image reproduced by WALDSCHMIDT, *O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. VI, pl. 35, c.

Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh for which doubtless there must have been some reason (see fig. 43). On the one hand this lattice-work closely resembles the trellised web between the fingers of the Buddhas in the wall-paintings of Central Asia, and on the other hand we are reminded of the use of the word *jāla* for a latticed window.

Given the choice whether the original meaning of the *jāla-lakṣaṇa* was "lines on the palm of the hand" or "the pink shine through the fingers closed together", the first seems to us the more probable, because of the meaning of the word *jāla* = net or trellis-work. It seems acceptable that because of misunderstanding and rote, a sculptors-technique was eventually understood to be the already existing lakṣaṇa of a Buddha.

In the same way, we presume, that the uṣṇīṣalakṣaṇa at Mathurā was created: Originally it was understood as a hair-knot as it was impossible for the Buddha to wear the royal turban; then by influences from North-West India, and next by rote and bad representation in sculpture as a protuberance, and as a last stage in its development an endeavour was made to explain this abnormal phenomenon by slightly changing the significance of an already existing lakṣaṇa.

But let us return to our argument and discuss the last point of difference between the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī with regard to the images reproduced in figs. 37, 39 and 40, viz. the decoration of the nimbus. The latter has reached a completely new phase. Except for the scalloped edge, the inner surface now seems wholly filled with ornamental bands and petals in the centre. As the nimbus has for the greater part been broken away, this unfortunately cannot be properly ascertained, but in the Bodhisattva represented on the front of the pedestal, we can distinguish the bands more clearly, while the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh still shows the petals in the centre of his nimbus. Several Jina heads from this period, or somewhat later, show a better preserved nimbus, e.g. the Tīrthaṃkara head in the British Museum, presented by the Secretary for India in Council in 1901 and incorrectly dated in the 6th century (see fig. 57) [194]).

194) See Ch. IV, p. 240.

In the very early art of India we often find a head appearing from a flower. The oldest decoration of the railings consisted namely of rosettes [195]), flowers in full-bloom, hewn into the stambhas. When some more ornaments came into use, mythical animals were added, e.g. a winged bull, a makara, etc., and these were placed in the rosettes [196]). What is probably a later stage of development shows human heads in similar rosettes, and in this way we find these representations of heads rather regularly in the art of Bharhut [197]). Some of the Jainistic āyāgapaṭas at Mathurā discussed in the beginning show a full-blown lotus behind the Jina heads [198]). It is quite possible that this idea is a result of the custom to represent heads in the centre of the rosettes in the foregoing period.

In the older sculptures of the Buddha at Mathurā we mostly find the nimbus as a simple smooth disk with the well-known scalloped edge [199]). Probably we must explain this scalloped edge as the most natural way of representing rays of light around the head. In any case it is striking that in other countries, and at other times, the nimbus acquires a similar form, e.g. in later East Javanese art [200]), as well as in Balinese art [201]), in which the beams of light

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195) B. Barua, *Barhut,* vol. III, *Aspects of Life and Art,* pl. IX; J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XIII and XVI, a.

196) A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bodhgayā, Ars Asiatica,* vol. XVIII, pl. VII, IX-XIII, XV, XVI, XXXVII, LI, figs. 3 and 4, LII. Further, J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XIV, b.

197) B. Barua, *Barhut,* vol. III, pl. XXXI; *H.I.I.A.,* fig. 49.

198) See p. 155.

199) Very old reliefs show a halo which is quite smooth without a scalloped edge, e.g. the relief depicted in J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* LIII, b. The reproduction is not very clear, but during the India and Pakistān Exhibition in Burlington House last year, we had the opportunity to verify personally our impression that the disk was left quite smooth.

200) For instance N. J. Krom, *L'art javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java, Ars Asiatica,* vol. VIII, Paris 1926, pl. XXXVIII and XL, and K. With, *Java; Brahmanische, Buddhistische und eigenlebige Architektur und Plastik auf Java, Geist, Kunst und Leben Asiens,* vol. I, Hagen i. W. 1920, pl. 150, 151.

201) Th. P. Galestin, *Eenige Balische Illustraties bij het Oudjavaansche Gedicht Smaradahana, Cultureel Indië,* vol. V, Leiden 1943, pp. 76-87 esp. p. 85,

radiating from heavenly beings (the so-called aureole of Majapahit) show a similar scalloped edge.

In the lapse of time the sculptors at Mathurā embellish the nimbus more and more and at last they begin to represent bands of flower-garlands on the smooth disk, completely filling in the space between those bands with decorative ornaments. In the centre a flower in full-bloom is placed from which, as it were, the head of the saint appears as in the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. The rosette of radiating petals excellently imitates the beams of light of a nimbus. This representation strongly reminds us of the railing of Bharhut on which some centuries earlier the heads were surrounded by floral rosettes. It may be that this rosette round the head of a worshipped person has remained in use since Bharhut. The lotus behind the Jina figure on an early āyāgapaṭa [202]) might support this supposition. On the smooth nimbus of the older images from the school of Mathurā the rosette might have been painted, as many details in Indian art were left to the finishing touch given to the images by plasterers or painters. In later times the sculptors must have returned to the custom of chiselling out "en relief" this decoration of the nimbus.

In the preceding pages we have discussed two Buddhas which resemble each other to such a degree that we can speak of a type. To this type belong several other Buddha images which show exactly the same characteristics, for instance, the Buddha in the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin [203]). This image has an inscription on the base the characters of which are decidedly late Kuṣāṇa. Unfortunately the decimal in the date has been broken away. We do not know whether the inscription has been published, so we therefore give it here as we read it from the reproduction of the image in WALDSCHMIDT's article: "... 5 asya pūrvvāya bhagavato śak(y)amunisya pratimā pratiṣṭ(h)āpita Devila..."

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figs. 1, 2 and 5; and by the same author *Tantri Illustraties op een Balisch doek, Cultureel Indië,* vol. I, 1939, pp. 129-136, esp. fig. 7.

202) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. LIV, b.

203) Reproduced in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes in Indien, O.Z.,* Neue Folge, vol. VI, 1930, pl. 36, c.

Probably another Buddha of this type is the image N° A. 22 in the Museum at Mathurā. VOGEL's description, however, is very brief [204]) but as he refers to the Buddha of Sītalā Ghāṭī, it seems that there exists a similarity.

A somewhat later stage of development is shown by a Buddha at Sanchi [205]), whose snail-shell curls have become smaller. This is the oldest detached image we know in dhyānamudrā (not counting Gandhāra).

In the preceding pages we have advanced numerous arguments justifying us in dating the discussed type of Buddhas later than the Buddhas in figs. 39 and 40 from about the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era and in fact they seem to date (judging from the form of the characters of the inscription on the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh) from about the years 150 to 185 A.D. preferably at the end of that period in view of the enormous differences we observed when comparing these two images with the Buddha of Anyor and those reproduced in figs. 37 and 40. A number of those differences indicate, moreover, that in the second half of the 2nd century A.D. a process was going on at Mathurā in which some elements, due to influences from Gandhāra, were expelled and substituted by old native ones; others again were remodelled so that they could be assimilated into the art of Mathurā.

Is it possible to bridge the gap between the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 37, 39 and 40 on the one hand and the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī on the other by interjacent pieces, so that the dates can be fixed more precisely? Unfortunately we have no reproduction of the only Buddha image known to us from that period between the two categories mentioned, viz. the image of the year 74 from Kāman [206]).

But there is another way of roughly investigating the interjacent space of time, that is by means of the Jainistic images from that

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204) *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 54.

205) M. M. HAMID, Pandit R. C. KAK and RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State,* Calcutta 1922, pl. II, fig. 19, and *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1912-'13, part I, pl. VIII, d.

206) LÜDERS' *List* N° 12.

period. We have at our disposal seven photographs of Tīrthaṃkara images with inscriptions, six of which are legible. One of these mentions the year 80 [207]) (see fig. 45) as the date of the consecration of the image, two others mention the year 83 [208]) (see fig. 46), and again two others [209]) the year 84 (see figs. 47 and 48). Finally we received a photograph of a Jina image dated in the year 98 through kind assistance of Mr. NAGAI, Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum [210]) (see fig. 49). Owing to the deplorable circumstance that the head and nimbus of all six images are missing and, moreover, the pedestals of two pieces are very much worn away, it is unfortunately impossible to draw conclusions from these details. Added to this, there is only a slight line of development that can be followed in these images, as they date from about the same time. In spite of this they together form a link (bridging the gap in the line of development of the Buddha images) from which some conclusions may be drawn. A disadvantage is of course that no conclusions can be drawn about the drapery of the garment, as Tīrthaṃkara images are completely naked.

Now comparing these six Jainistic images in question, their great conformity immediately strikes us, resulting of course from their having been made almost simultaneously. It is striking that the hands are always lying in dhyānamudrā, "nota bene" with the tips of the thumbs touching each other. So we can assume that this mudrā was the usual one for Jina images. All Buddha images

207) LÜDERS' *List* N° 66. Discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, at present in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 392, N° 24; R. D. BANERJI, *New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period, Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pp. 106-121, esp. p. 116, pl. VII.

208) Mathurā Museum, N° B. 3, and B. 2; J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 66. LÜDERS' *List* Nos 69 and 68, discovered resp. at Jail Mound and Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

209) Mathurā Museum, N° Add. 490. *Ann. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments 1916-'17*, p. 10, N° 4. Mathurā Museum, N° B. 4; J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 67, pl. XI; LÜDERS' *List* N°69a; L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 101, discovered at Bālabhadra Kuṇḍ.

210) LÜDERS' *List* N° 77.

from Mathurā discussed up till now raised their hands in abhaya-mudrā, except for those relief-figures, which were distinctly slavish copies of examples from Gandhāra, probably stereotyped representations of well-known scenes from the Buddha's life.

From one of the six images, viz. the image reproduced in fig. 48 dated in the year 84 a small piece of the nimbus behind his left upper arm and shoulder has been preserved. On it we can still discover the well-known scalloped edge, and just inside the edge of a band, so we can assume that the stage of more elaborate decoration of the nimbus had already begun in the year 84 of the Kaniṣka era = 162 A.D. The pedestals offer another point of comparison. On all of them the heads of the small lions project over the top-slab. The Jinas reproduced in figs. 45 and 48 show two lions with heads turned inwards. The image depicted in fig. 47 has lions the heads of which are turned almost straight to the front. The pedestals of the Jinas, reproduced in fig. 46 are unfortunately worn away to such a degree that it is impossible to state anything about the attitude of the lions' heads. Finally the lions in fig. 49 are decidedly high relief in contrast to all the foregoing lions, which are bas-relief. Moreover their chests are strikingly bulging and the body is turned slightly inwards. All these peculiarities betray a further phase of development and links this Jina figure with the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 43 and 44.

On all the lions visible the manes no longer have the triangular form with the point hanging down in front, as seen in the lions of the Buddha of Anyor, but the manes now already show the rounded outline below, and also reach much lower down, in fact halfway down the chest, except on the earliest image reproduced in fig. 45 of the year 80, in which the manes do not reach the middle of the chest. The hair on the heads of the lions (turned straight to the front), depicted in fig. 47, still has the triangular form we observed in the image in fig. 40. Furthermore, all visible lions already have protruding tongues. Their bodies are slightly turned inwards, which eventually finds a decided expression in the Jina of fig. 49 and the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā

Ghāṭī. In all lions the strongly bulging eyes are very noticeable. We find these again in the lions in figs. 43 and 44.

The fact that always in the centre of the space between the two lions a scene is represented, showing a number of adorants on either side of a small column carrying the cakra-symbol, and not, as in the Buddhist images after the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era, a figure adored by worshippers, makes us believe that this is a special characteristic of Jainistic images. In this they have kept to the worship of a symbol instead of to that of an image, a peculiarity from the past. Generally Jainism is more tenacious to tradition, resulting perhaps from the fact that it has not been exposed to so many foreign and strange influences as Buddhism, which at an early period received the influence of ideas and traditions from the North-West, owing to a powerful community and finally a centre of Buddhism being formed there. By its very pliancy, and the fact that it easily absorbed and assimilated religious ideas preached in its environment, and also by its missionary impulse, Buddhism was able to develop into a world-wide religion—an ever continuing circle between expansion-impulse and assimilation-power. In contrast to this, Jainism which had not been exposed to so many strange influences remained more conservative and therefore did not acquire the numerous followers among foreign nations that could have made it a world-religion—a vicious circle in reverse. In that way Jainism remained a typical Indian religion, and it maintained some archaic characteristics which Buddhism lacks.

Returning to the six Jina images with inscriptions we can finally conclude that they all show soles which are quite flat and on the same level. As only the first five pedestals have a very low relief, we can, therefore, just as well call it bas-relief. Moreover the image in fig. 45 is apparently a little earlier in development judging by the various points of comparison which is confirmed by its date, viz. the year 80. In the first place the manes do not reach so far down over the chests. The form of the chest on the short legs especially takes us back to the form of the lions we have met with in the Buddha of Anyor, thick-set little monsters, as yet lacking

all structure. On the other hand, the lions have turned their heads inwards with the result that the body also turns a little inwards, a characteristic by which this image is also clearly connected with the series of the years 82 and 84. In these last mentioned images the lions' legs are already longer, which make the lions look taller, and this anticipates the direction of the development in the lions of the Jina of fig. 49 and the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī.

The stature of the six images themselves clearly continues the tradition of the old national school of Mathurā to which the kapardin Buddha also belonged. Because of this, these images also resemble the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī, as these last have reassumed the stature usual in the old school of Mathurā; the waist is narrow and the shoulders do not droop but tend to become almost square, which is very obvious when we compare these images, for example, with the Buddha reproduced in fig. 37. Finally, the composition-space very strongly approaches a quadrangle in contrast to that of the Buddha just mentioned, where it is triangular.

To sum up—the decoration of the nimbus, the fact that the lions' heads project above the top-slab, the shape of the manes and that of the hair on their heads, the protruding tongues, the bodies turned inwards, the slight depth of the relief as a whole, the square shoulders of the Jina, and as a result the quadrangular form of the composition-space—all these characteristics point to the fact that these Jina images belong to a period between the images of about the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era and those of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī. Leaving fig. 49 out of discussion, the difference between the Jina images—and especially the four later ones—and the first mentioned group is greater than the difference between the Jinas and the last mentioned group, because there are only two out of the eight points of comparison which show more resemblance to the first group than to the second one—the shape of the hair of the lions' heads and the slight depth of the relief; while on the other hand the six other points of comparison show a greater resemblance to the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and

Sītalā Ghāṭī. Our conclusion is that chronologically speaking the Jina images are nearer to the latter group of Buddhas than to the former one. Now there is a gap of 30 to 35 years between the date of the older group of Buddhas reproduced in figs. 39 and 40 and the Jainistic images. Supposing that the period of time between the Jina images and the later group of Buddhas is about 20 years, then we arrive at a date of about the year 100 to 105 of the Kaniṣka era or about 180 A.D., or, more roughly speaking, the fourth quarter of the 2nd century A.D. for the images of Sītalā Ghāṭī and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. In this way we have been able by means of the Jainistic images to more or less fill in the gap in the series of Buddha images covering the years 130-180 A.D. and to follow the vague course of development via the Jina images to the Jina of the year 98 (fig. 49) and the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī of about the beginning of the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era.

Another way of filling in this gap is offered by the reliefs from this period which we have at our disposal. It should be premised here that during a certain transition-period the sculptors of Mathurā liked to copy certain scenes from North-West India which by their endless repetition had become a kind of fixed stereotype there. These stereotyped copies in the art of Mathurā are easily recognized (see textfig. 1 on p. 81). To date them, however, is often difficult, as the sculptor at Mathurā obviously also copied as faithfully as possible the method of representing the seated Buddha of Gandhāra with covered feet. The possibility therefore exists that at Mathurā such stereotype scenes in which the Buddha has for example both shoulders and feet covered, the robe being draped in symmetrical folds, might originate from a time when the art of Mathurā itself had already rejected this phase of modelling the garment.

A relief at present in the Curzon Museum at Mathurā also undoubtedly belongs to this group of copies just described [211]). It formerly was part of a sculpture representing the most important

211) Reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. LIII, c; J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1906-'07, pp. 137-

events from the Buddha's life. To the right on this fragment we see the Parinirvāṇa and to the left the turning of the Wheel of Law, or the first preaching in the deer-park at Sārnāth. However, the fact that the decoration of the nimbus is more elaborate than that of, say the Buddha in fig. 36, and further that, in our opinion, the hair does not yet show snail-shell curls, but small semi-circular lines, suggests a date to us after the year 130 A.D. and before the year 180 A.D.

Another example of this kind of copies is offered by a fragment at present in the Lucknow Provincial Museum [212]). Because of the severe mutilation it can unfortunately not be decided what kind of sculpture it formerly was part of. It is obvious, however, that the piece was a fragment of a larger whole, as appears from the thick twisted rope or garland running upwards to the left and right. Perhaps it formed part of the head-gear of a Bodhisattva image. A fragment resembling our piece is in the Curzon Museum at Mathurā [213]). The Buddha is seated on a lotus, acolytes on either side (Indra and Brahmā?) each also on a lotus. It is true that the Buddhas of the national school of Mathurā also very often had an acolyte to the left and the right, but neither the Buddha nor his attendants sat or stood on lotus-flowers. The whole design and treatment of this piece with the three figures on lotus-flowers gives a strong North-West Indian impression. Moreover, the fact that the figure of the Buddha is seated in dhyānamudrā confirms the impression that a piece from Gandhāra has been copied. For it is striking that the Buddha images of the kapardin type only show the abhayamudrā and never one of the other attitudes of the hand so popular in North-West India.

Because of mutilation it is unfortunately not clear what the hairdressing of the Buddha originally was. The symmetrical pleating points to the group of images dating from about the year 130 A.D.

160, esp. p. 153, pl. LIV, a; J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 128; Mathurā Museum, N° H. 7. Place of discovery unknown.

212) Reproduced in A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 552; L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik*, pl. 86, fig. 2; Lucknow Museum N° B. 23.

213) Mathurā Museum, N° 2367, reproduced in V. S. AGRAWALA, *Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, *J.U.P.H.S.*, vol. XI, part II, 1938, pp. 1-13, fig. 1.

showing influence from Gandhāra. The nimbus also still shows the old simpler decoration of only the scalloped edge, so we might feel inclined to date the piece about the year 130 A.D., but we refer once more to our remark about the dating of sculptures which give the impression of being copies of North-West Indian works of art.

Less difficult is the dating of those reliefs showing Buddha figures in the various stages of their development in the school of Mathurā in which the sculptor renders the contemporary style. Such a relief is reproduced in fig. 50 [214]). It probably represents a row of Buddhas, of which we have several from Gandhāra and Mathurā. Generally Gautama is represented with his six predecessors and Maitreya. On the fragment reproduced in fig. 50 three Buddhas and Maitreya to the right still remain. It is striking to find a Buddha of the kapardin type on the extreme left of this relief. The conclusion which can be drawn from this is, that the kapardin type continued to exist for some time side by side with the new type which is an imitation of the Buddhas of North-West India and which we find in the art of Mathurā after about the year 130 A.D. Let us study this Buddha figure somewhat more closely: his left shoulder is covered by the garment, his left upper arm shows the characteristic pleats, his left hand has been placed on his left knee with clenched fist, while his right hand is raised in the usual attitude of the kapardin type, viz. the abhayamudrā "nota bene" as high as the shoulder. In this relief where we meet both types of Buddha image side by side we have a fine opportunity to observe the difference in height to which the hands are raised by each kind of Buddha. We also believe that the hand of the Buddha on the left has been turned somewhat more inwards, while the palms of the hands of the other figures are held straight to the front. All the enumerated peculiarities still tally completely

214) Lucknow Museum, N° B. 182; place of discovery unknown; J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXXVI, c, p. 44, and *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1909-'10, p. 68, fig. 3; L. BACHHOFER, *Die frühindische Plastik,* pl. 87; L. SCHERMAN, *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst,* 1929, Band VI, Heft 2, pp. 147-166, fig. 23.

with the representations of the Buddha of the kapardin type we are accustomed to. Judging by the treatment of the hair, however, the sculptors of Mathurā were not altogether uninfluenced by Gandhāra, for instead of the smoothly rendered hair with the smooth uṣṇīṣa we now find the whole head covered with the well-known semi-circular lines in three or more horizontal rows, so our conclusion must be that a change is now taking place in the orthodox type of Buddha image. The general aspect of the other Buddhas in this relief (those of the type with influence from Gandhāra) points to a date after the Buddha of Anyor, and before the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. Although feet and legs are still wholly covered by the garment, the drapery is no longer symmetrical, but runs straight down from their left shoulders and spreads out to the right like a fan. The treatment of the hair is done in the semi-circular lines. Furthermore, the nimbus shows a decoration more developed than that of the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 39 and 40. The hands are turned straight to the front; as high as the breast the fingers point perpendicularly upwards. Finally the pleat at the neck does not show a sharp V-shape. These seven characteristics, briefly summed up, prove that these Buddhas, as to their stylistic development date from the period between the years 130 and 180 A.D., as they have qualities in common with the Buddhas from the first mentioned year as well as with those from the second. The relief therefore must date from the transition-period between the time when both feet were still covered and the pleats of the garment flowed down symmetrically from both shoulders (as on the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 37, 39 and 40), and the time when the fan-like drapery was in vogue (even although both shoulders remained covered), while the feet and the lower part of the legs were naked (as in the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh).

Two more reliefs are to be considered. The first one, reproduced in fig. 51, probably again shows us part of a representation of Buddhas with Maitreya [215]). Here also, like the relief reproduced

215) Mathurā Museum, N° I. 7; J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 135; place of discovery unknown.

in fig. 50, Maitreya sits at the extreme right of the fragment and four Buddhas to the left of him. Again we find the two types of Buddha images side by side, with this difference that the type imitating the Buddha images from Gandhāra (second and fourth from the left) now has naked legs and his robe is draped fan-like. The hair, however, is still indicated by the horizontal rows of small semi-circular lines. So our conclusion must be that this relief also dates from the transition-period between the years 130-180 A.D., while like the previous relief it has characteristics in common with the Buddhas which date from about the first year as well as with those from about the second. However, as these Buddhas influenced by North-West India also show naked legs this relief is somewhat later in development than the piece previously discussed.

The second relief to be considered is reproduced in fig. 53 [216]). This piece, like the preceding one, is a lintel. It is divided into two tiers. The upper one shows three scenes from the Buddha's life. As these belong to the stereotype representations, so often copied mechanically from North-West Indian art by the sculptors of Mathurā, the fact that two out of three Buddhas on this part of the relief have covered feet and legs is not necessarily an indication that it dates from about the year 130 A.D., and this is proved by the lower part of the relief. The well-known row of Buddhas is probably again represented here (only two are visible and a third one partly so), in addition two Bodhisattvas at the right of the fragment, of which the one on the extreme right is probably Maitreya. On the extreme left, part of a figure is still visible, probably a Buddha of the kapardin type, judging by the clenched fist on the left knee. Of the two Buddhas visible the left one has both shoulders covered with a fan-like draped robe, naked feet and legs, and the hair represented by small semi-circular lines. In short, this is the type we also found on the previous relief from the transition-period between the years 130-180 A.D. (and probably

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216) Lucknow Museum, N° B. 208; J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-'10, pl. XXV, b.

from the later part of it according to the naked legs, but we will discuss this in more detail presently).

The Buddha to the right also has naked legs and feet, and the hair is represented by semi-circular lines in horizontal rows, but his right shoulder is naked, judging by the height to which his hand is raised (in abhayamudrā) and the visible nipple of the breast. So this is the kapardin type, although his left hand lifts a lappet, just as we have up till now been accustomed to find in the Buddhas influenced by Gandhāra. As well as the indication of the hair by small semi-circular lines as in the Buddha of the relief previously discussed, the lifted lappet is a second element in this relief, an element also obviously copied by the kapardin type from the type influenced by Gandhāra. Thus we see the kapardin type refashioned more and more by the addition of elements originally hailing from North-West India, which is the more reason to date this relief in the later part of the transition-period between the years 130-180 A.D. On the other hand, the type with influence from Gandhāra, which went through some slight changes immediately upon its introduction at Mathurā (because the sculptors of Mathurā were unable to copy all details correctly), eventually copied all sorts of characteristics of the kapardin type: the lower part of the legs and the feet began to appear, and the hair was indicated in a national way. We see, therefore, how the two types merge into each other during this transition-period. The only point in which they finally still differ is the naked right shoulder, but apart from that, they are almost identically represented. These two types with covered or uncovered right shoulder continue to exist side by side until the end of Buddhist art in India.

When judging the reliefs discussed in the preceding pages we have always taken for granted that the indication of the hair by means of small semi-circular lines must be older than that indicated by snail-shell curls. That this is true is proved by the fact that images (which must be older on style-critical and epigraphical grounds) like the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 39 and 40 also show the hair-dressing in the technique of semi-circular lines, while stylistically later images like the Buddhas reproduced in figs. 43

and 44 show snail-shell curls. In the images showing influence from Gandhāra we find these semi-circular lines in the images with covered legs and feet and symmetrical pleating, as well as in those with fan-like drapery and covered feet and in those with naked legs and fan-like pleats. Up till now, we know of no specimen with snail-shell curls showing feet and legs covered, and the garment draped symmetrically or fan-like, covering both shoulders. However, the existence of such Buddha images is possible as the published number of Mathurā sculptures available is still rather limited.

So we may presume that the change in the representation of the hair—from the technique of semi-circular lines to that of snail-shell curls—takes place after the change from the symmetrically pleated garment to the fan-like draped one. We can also say that this last change takes place before the novelty of the naked legs is introduced into the type influenced by Gandhāra, for as yet we do not know of Buddha images with uncovered legs and symmetrically pleated garments, but only of images with covered legs and fan-like pleats.

In chronological order, we therefore meet with the following three changes in the Buddha image in the transition-period from the years ± 130 - ± 180 A.D.:

1—From a symmetrically pleated garment to fan-like draperies.

2—From covered legs and feet to uncovered ones.

3—From the indication of the hair by the technique of semi-circular lines to that of snail-shell curls.

The method of indicating the hair by means of horizontal rows of semi-circular lines remains in vogue during the whole transition-period. It seems to us, however, that even in this way of indicating the hair some evolution can be detected. We find for instance heads on which the line of the forehead runs horizontally, just as was the case with the images of the kapardin type, albeit that these indicated the hair smoothly. An example of this is the Jina head in the British Museum (see fig. 58) which, in our opinion, is incorrectly dated in the 6th century A.D. instead of in the period from ± 130 - ± 180 A.D. The line of the forehead of this sculp-

ture runs from the top of the one ear to that of the other, and at the side of the head hardly any semi-circular lines are added (see fig. 69). This is quite different from, for instance, the Buddha head represented in fig. 70 and some others [217]). Here the dividing line between forehead and hair runs strongly curved over the forehead and comes down in front of the ears, so that, as it were, small whiskers are formed. That is why we find four or more extra horizontal rows of semi-circular lines beside the ears. This form of the line of the forehead is also shown by the Buddhas and Jinas after the sculptors took to representing long hair by means of snail-shell curls (see fig. 71), for then we see, under the lowest row of curls running over the forehead almost horizontally, two or three short horizontal rows of curls to the left and right, just in front of the ears, which thus give a curved shape to the line of the forehead. See for instance the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh (see fig. 43) and the Jina bust in the British Museum (see fig. 57). On account of this characteristic in common with the Buddhas and Jinas of a later date, we think that the heads with a strongly curved line of the forehead represent a later stylistic development than those with an almost horizontal line.

It cannot be said exactly how much time was occupied by each of the three changes discussed above during those fifty years of the transition-period. There will always be sculptors who are behind or ahead of the general stage of development. It goes without saying that the stages of development indicated below slowly merge into each other. It is possible that even in later times, when the school of Mathurā had already changed the copy of the example from Gandhāra into a type with uncovered legs, nevertheless some copies of images from North-West India were made. Roughly considered, the following scheme of development might then be drawn up for the transition-period of the years ± 130 - ± 180 A.D.:

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217) For example, the head reproduced in V. A. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā,* pl. CI, fig. 4; further N° J. 220 in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, a photograph of which is in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, section Jinas, N° 30.

Situation in the year ± 130		1st transition-period		2nd transition-period		Situation in the year ± 180
symmetrically draped pleating	→	fan-like draped pleating		fan-like draped pleating		fan-like draped pleating
covered legs		covered legs	→	uncovered legs		uncovered legs
hair in rows of semi-circular lines		hair in rows of semi-circular lines		hair in rows of semi-circular lines	→	hair in snail-shell curls.

Finally, we should like to place the discussed reliefs in the above scheme. The sculpture reproduced in fig. 50 belongs to the first transition-stage, judging by the fan-like pleated garment, the covered legs, and the indication of the hair by means of small semi-circular lines in horizontal rows. The following relief reproduced in fig. 51 belongs to the second transition-period, in view of the fan-like pleated garment, the naked legs and feet and the indication of the hair by means of the semi-circular lines. Finally, the last relief reproduced in fig. 53 belongs to the same stage as the preceding one, as the Buddha figures have the same characteristics. If, however, we date this relief somewhat later in the scheme of development than the previous one, we do so because of the representation of the Buddha of the kapardin type which not only shows uncovered legs and the indication of hair in semi-circular lines all over the head—which the Buddha of the kapardin type on the relief in fig. 51 also does—but moreover lifts the lappet of the garment.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POST-KUṢĀṆA PERIOD AT MATHURĀ

For lack of Buddha images we discussed the Jina images from the transition-period as well as the Buddhistic reliefs from that time, in order to enable us to realize slightly the line of development of art followed during that period. We now return to our starting-point: the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and that of Sītalā Ghāṭī, both dating from about the year 178 A.D. or even somewhat later. In favour of this date pleads—except for the arguments already mentioned—the fact that, as we will see further on, the majority of the images made during the reign of one of the Kuṣāṇas mentioned up till now, indicate the name of the ruling monarch in their inscription. In the inscription on the image of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh neither a date nor the name of a monarch is mentioned, and consequently this should leave room for the possibility that the sculpture was made some time after the death of Vāsudeva, i.e. some time after the year 98 of the Kaniṣka era, as we possess the last inscription of Vāsudeva of that year and he therefore probably died in the same year or somewhat later.

Looking over the available material, in order to follow the development of the school of Mathurā, we meet with the difficulty that we do not know a single Buddha image bearing an inscription with a date after Vāsudeva. The Jina images also suddenly fail us here and so we can only try to reconstruct the later development of art by comparison of style.

The image then to be considered in the first place for comparison with the images of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī, is the Buddha, reproduced in fig. 54 [1]), because of its extreme resemblance to them.

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1) J. MARSHALL, *Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1919-'20, pl. 17, a, mentioned on p. 41.

It is true that several elements in this image are in a further stage of development, but the whole design points to the fact that, chronologically speaking, the images cannot be further apart than 10-20 years. This time the hand, lifting the lappet of the robe, has been preserved, and we see the well-known pleats with zig-zag hem. His right hand, probably lifted in abhayamudrā, as in the image of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, has, however, been broken off here. A slight development is noticeable in the pleating of the robe. On the front the pleats fall downwards in a somewhat undulating line, while the corresponding pleats in the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh still fall stiffly. The peculiarity of the shutter-like pleats, lying in folds over each other downwards from shoulder to elbow, and suddenly folding upwards below the elbow, has remained unchanged as in the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh.

The socle also very strongly resembles those of the Buddhas, represented in figs. 43 and 44. The Master is again seated on kuśa-grass. Between the two lions there is a space, as in the Buddha images of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī, occupied by a Bodhisattva in the middle, and the donors of the Buddha image as adorants on either side. The lions now have been turned slightly inwards, like those of the two Buddhas just mentioned, and are decidedly in haut-relief. The tongues protrude. The little paws are firmly placed wide apart. The only differences that can be observed between these two members of the leonine species and their two congeners on the socle of the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh are, that the chests have become a little more globular, and that the heads only reach over the drooping kuśa-grass and not over that which is lying flat, but for the rest they resemble the lions reproduced in figs. 43 and 44 as much as two peas. Except for the more undulating line in the pleating of the robe and the more rounded chests of the little lions, the image reproduced in fig. 54 so strongly resembles the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī, that nothing prevents us from considering the image in question as a somewhat further development of those two Buddhas, perhaps about 20 years later and in that case from about the middle of the first half of the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era.

Yet, there is indeed one obstacle, viz. the inscription on the pedestal, which we read as follows:

"siddhaṃ sa(ṃ) 20 2 gra [2]) 2 di 30 asyāṃ pūrvvāyaṃ prāvārikavihāre buddhapratimā pratiṣṭ(h)āpitā."

Which means translated:

"Success! In the year 22, in the 2nd (month of) summer, on the 30th day, on this occasion as specified, (this) Buddha image was installed in the Prāvārika monastery."

The piece is therefore dated in the year 22. DAYA RAM SAHNI, who published this inscription at the time, says in his introduction: "N° I, which is dated in the year 22, must have been installed in the reign of Kanishka." [3])

We cannot agree with this. The image which is clearly, in all respects, only slightly more developed than the Buddha of the type of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh [4]), cannot be suddenly 80 years older than that type. So on style-critical grounds it seems impossible to us that the Buddha in question dates from Kaniṣka's time. Besides this the form of the characters shows a much later stage of development than that of the characters known from other inscriptions of Kaniṣka's time, for instance the *ka* in *prāvārika,* and the *ya* in *pūrvvāyaṃ* have a form which is decidedly very much later than Kaniṣka's time. Also the anusvāra is clearly a dash in *pūrvvāyaṃ* instead of a dot as in Kaniṣka's time. And perhaps even a later

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2) This ligature must be read as *gra,* although one would expect the abbreviation *gri* for *grīṣma.* In other places, however, it is obvious that the stroke to the left under the character must be read as the subscribed consonant *r.* There are, moreover, several inscriptions where on top of the ligature *gra* there is still the *i,* so that the abbreviation *gri* for *grīṣma* is correct in those places. Probably the ligature *gra* is in its turn an abbreviated form of *gri.*

3) DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Seven inscriptions from Mathura, Ep. Ind.,* vol. 19, 1927-'28, pp. 65-69, esp. p. 65, pl. I.

4) VOGEL also thinks that the Buddha dated in the year 22 is later than the Buddha of Sītalā Ghāṭī. So he saw, as we did, the development which had taken place, but as he has not tried to obtain a date for the Buddha of Sītalā Ghāṭī on style-critical grounds, and as he thinks, as SAHNI did, that the other Buddha dates from the year 22 of the Kaniṣka era, the Buddha of Sītalā Ghāṭī dates, according to him, from about the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign; J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* p. 38.

form of *ma* is to be found in *pratimā,* but unfortunately this character is rather vague ⟨character⟩. Besides, the so-called box-head on top of the various characters is decisive for our opinion that the inscription and therefore the image itself as well have to be dated much later than Kaniṣka.

Now what shall we do? On one side we see on style-critical and palaeographic grounds that the image corresponds with the Buddhas of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and Sītalā Ghāṭī, on the other hand the inscription is dated in the year 22. Do we meet with a new era here? In principle it would not be impossible that after Vāsudeva's death a new era began. However, we do not think this probable [5]).

As a solution for this epigraphical enigma we should like to give the following: once having reached the year 100 in the Kaniṣka era, people counted steadily on, even after Vāsudeva's death, but the figure for 100 was omitted when dating, as we ourselves often do at the present time, when with '40 we really mean: 1940. That such a method of dating was not unknown in India appears from the fact, that in the Laukika era the thousands and hundreds in a date were always omitted in a similar way [6]). Likewise the hundreds are omitted in some inscriptions dated in the Vikrama era [7]). KONOW has always denied the possibility of an era with omitted hundreds, mainly on account of the fact that FLEET opposed it. But to us such a notation seems to be the only solution for the epigraphic, palaeographic and stylistic difficulties which would otherwise arise. DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN discussing the controversy between KONOW and FOUCHER (who advocated a Mauryan era with omitted hundreds) says: "La possibilité de la

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5) Principally on grounds of the fact that the dynasty still went on after Vāsudeva, see Ch. VI, pp. 306 seq.

6) For inscriptions using this era see J. PH. VOGEL, *Inscriptions of Chambā State, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1902-'03, pp. 239-271, esp. p. 245. This era is also used in several MSS. We have to thank Professor GONDA for kindly drawing our attention to G. BÜHLER, *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kaśmīr, Rajputana, and Central India,* Bombay 1877, pp. 59 seq.

7) See J. F. FLEET, *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, p. 983, note 2.

suppression des centaines est hors de doute, car l'emploi de ce genre de "datation" est attesté au moyen-âge." [8])

Finally our greatest Brāhmī epigraphist HEINRICH LÜDERS seems not to have been opposed to this idea either. When we were in Oslo in winter 1947 to discuss several points in the Chapters II-VI of this study of ours with Professor KONOW and Professor MORGENSTIERNE, the last was so kind as to look up his notes taken down in 1915 by him when following the lectures of LÜDERS at Berlin. It appears that LÜDERS in connection with inscription N° 70 of his *List* (with which we will deal further on, and which has been from the outset one of our strongest arguments in favour of our hypothesis), suggested the possibility that the cipher for 100 had been omitted in this inscription. If a scholar of LÜDERS' reputation did not think it impossible that the hundreds were omitted in one inscription, we think the most serious objection to our hypothesis, viz. that an era with omitted hundreds does not exist, is taken away.

Now, looking at LÜDERS' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* [9]), indeed it is striking that after the year 99 of the Kaniṣka era no dates are mentioned with higher numbers [10]), while exactly from the decennia just before the new century a large stream of dated incriptions reaches us, which could cause the presumption, that also from the years after the year 99 a considerable number of inscriptions might be expected.

If we now assume on style-critical and palaeographic grounds that in the date on the Buddha in question the figure for 100 has been omitted, then we get the year 122 of the Kaniṣka era as the date for the image, which falls exactly within the limits we had already fixed for the image on style-critical grounds.

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8) L. DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN, *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi, Histoire du Monde*, tome VI[1], Paris 1930, p. 359.

9) H. LÜDERS, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. 10, Calcutta 1912.

10) Except an inscription of the year 299, which, however, refers to the old era. See further Ch. I, pp. 51-61.

The fact that indeed a date has been mentioned, but not the name of a ruling monarch, as is often done when an inscription was made during the reign of Kaniṣka or one of his successors, could be an additional indication for assigning the inscription in question to the time after Vāsudeva's death, but if one does not want to see a confirmation in this (in the course of this Chapter and the following one we will see, however, that this is nearly always the case), then any way it will not alter our opinion that here the figure for 100 has been omitted in the date.

Should the supposition be correct that after Vāsudeva's death a new era began, which we think very improbable because of reasons discussed in Chapter VI, then the date of the image in question would only shift a few years, as Vāsudeva's latest inscription dates from the year 98.

In support of our opinion that it was often customary when dating in the Kaniṣka era, to omit the figure for 100, once having passed that number we will now advance a series of arguments in sequence.

Firstly, there is a Jina image with an inscription on the pedestal, published by RAKHAL DAS BANERJI (see fig. 56) [11]. In all details this image corresponds at least as closely with the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh as the Buddha just discussed dated in the year 22. Undoubtedly it belongs to the same style-period of the years 100-125 of the Kaniṣka era. The inscription on the pedestal in our opinion reads as follows:

1. "sa(ṃ) 10 2 va 4 di 10 (1) etasya purvvāyā(ṃ) koḷiyāto [12]) (ga)ṇāto ba(ṃ)bha(d)ās(i)yāto kulāto uc(ena)-
2. garito (śākh)āto gaṇi(s)ya aryya puśi(lasya) śiśini d(e)v(ī) paṇatiharī nan(d)isya bhaginiye ni(rva?)-
3. rtanā sāvikānaṃ va(r)ddhakininaṃ jinadāsi rudradevadāttā

11) R. D. BANERJI, *New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, 1909-'10, pp. 106-121, esp. pp. 110-111, pl. I, N° IV. This image is N° 23a in LÜDERS' *List*.

12) It was H. LÜDERS who recognized that the second character had to be read as a *ḷa*: *The lingual la in the Northern Brahmi Script, J.R.A.S.*, 1911, pp. 1081-1089.

gopā rudrade(va)sāmini rudrad ....tra gahamitr(ā)
4. kumāraśirī vamadāsi hasti(s)enā grahaśirī rud(r)adatā jayadāsī mit(r)aśirī.........."

The contents, stating the donation of the image in question by a number of women, practically run as follows:

"In the year 12, the 4th (month of) the rainy season, on the 11th day, on this occasion as specified (this image was set up) by the (female) layhearers (who belong to the caste) of the carpenters: Jinadāsi, Rudradevadāttā, Gopā, Rudrade(va)sāmini, Rudrad...........tra, Gahamitr(ā)......Kumāraśirī, Vamadāsi, Hasti(se)nā, Grahaśirī, Rud(r)adatā, Jayadāsī, Mit(r)aśirī...... at the request of the paṇatidharī Devī(?) [13]), the sister of Nan(d)i, the female pupil of the venerable gaṇi Puśi(la) of the Koḷiya (ga)ṇa, the Ba(ṃ)bha(d)ās(i)ya kula and the Uc(ena)gari (śākh)ā." [14])

Of special interest to us with regard to this inscription is the date, which, according to the first line, is the year 12 without further specification. So here too a date without the name of the ruling monarch. The type of the characters again decidedly opposes a date in the year 12 during the reign of King Kaniṣka. We only mention e.g. the form of the characters *da*, *u* and *yya*. The character *ku* in line 1: *kulāto* deserves special mention. The subscribed *u* is no longer a horizontal line at the bottom of the *ka,* but a curve turning downwards, a form already resembling the Gupta form. Also the stage of development of the small lions on the pedestal pleads in favour of a date in the year 112 instead of 12.

As a conclusive proof we should like to put forward the figure of the Jina himself. The hair has been arranged all over the head in beautiful equal curls, resembling snail-shells. Considering that in all Jina images discussed up till now the heads unfortunately were missing, the opinion could be advanced that possibly the

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13) The significance of *paṇatidharī* is still unknown; see H. LÜDERS, *On some Brahmi Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, J.R.A.S.,* 1912, pp. 153-179, esp. p. 170, note 1.

14) For the religious subdivisions of the Jainas see G. BÜHLER, *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas,* Eng. ed. by J. BURGESS, London 1903, esp. pp. 58 seq.

image concerned originated from the year 12 of the Kaniṣka era, as no Jina images are known from that time with any hair-dressing whatever. So there would be no hindrance on the ground of the hair-dressing to date the image in the beginning of the Kaniṣka era.

In our opinion, however, there most positively is a hindrance. In the first place we know that originally in the Jina images, like in the Buddha images, the hair was smoothly rendered, and we have several specimens of them which cannot be confused with Buddhas (which they sometimes strongly resemble), as they mostly bear a special characteristic [15]), and the early Buddha heads are moreover distinguished by the uṣṇīṣa [16]). So it cannot be assumed that the sculptors of Mathurā, even if they did know the snail-shell technique of representing curly hair, applied this technique to the Jina heads from the moment they started to make Jina images. Furthermore we have to remark that before Buddhism received the influences from North-West India, the representation of the Buddha image and that of the Jina image went almost side by side, as a result of the uniformity of the source used by both religions for their art [17]). But also after strong influences from Gandhāra are apparent in Buddhism, the representations of both teachers continue to resemble each other very strongly, which, apart from the monk's robe on the Buddhas, appears from almost all details: pedestal with small lions, nimbus etc. Also the alteration in the representation of the hair which the Buddha image undergoes in the course of time, is closely followed by the Jina image, witness the Jina heads with hair over the whole head, indicated by rows of semi-circular lines, one above the other, as e.g. a head in the British Museum (see fig. 58) [18]).

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15) The śrīvatsa-symbol on the breast, for instance, is a characteristic of the Jinas. If that is no longer distinguishable either, then sometimes other peculiarities help. Pārśvanātha, for example, always wears a snake-hood behind his head, see for instance A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 86, and a photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, section Jinas, N° 29.

16) See Ch. III, pp. 162-168.

17) See Ch. III, pp. 150-152.

18) Furthermore: N° J. 220 in the Lucknow Museum, photograph in the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, section Jinas, N° 30 at the left, and V. A. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pl. CI, fig. 4.

With regard to the fact that Indian art in this time is certainly not sectarian, and that the representation of the Jina and the Buddha go almost side by side before Buddhist art was influenced by North-West Indian art, while also after that the Jina image very closely corresponds with the Buddha image, it does not seem premature to assume that after the technique of the covering of the head with semi-circular lines had been applied to the Jina heads, the representation in snail-shell curls was also closely copied from the Buddhas, or even introduced at the same time. That implies then that about the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era also the Jina images for the first time show heads covered with snail-shell curls.

Now comparing the image under discussion once more as a whole with the Jina bust in the British Museum (see fig. 57), the strong resemblance and speaking likeness will immediately attract our attention, if for a moment we eliminate the nimbus of the image in the British Museum. This Jina bust has been dated by the authorities of the British Museum in about the 6th century A.D., which is undoubtedly much too late considering the great resemblance of it to sculptures as the one under discussion. But the reason for this mistake will probably have been the fact that, also because of the decoration of the nimbus, the Jina does indeed remind us of the Gupta style, only then in "statu nascendi". Several elements of Gupta art are already present in embryo, the most important of which is the striking regularity in all details which is accentuated in Gupta art to an extraordinary degree; further the decoration of the nimbus and the arrangement of the curls. As, therefore, some characteristics of Gupta art are already to be found in essence in this image, we should like to label it as Post-Kuṣāṇa art.

It seems to us that the resemblance shown by the Jina image in the British Museum to the Jina of the year 12, as well as the way of representing the hair, must be decisive for our opinion that the latter image rather dates from the time between the Kuṣāṇa dynasty and that of the Guptas, than, as RAKHAL DAS BANERJI supposes

(judging from the numbers of the date mentioned in the inscription), from the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa time, i.e. from the year 12 of the reign of King Kaniṣka. On style-comparative and palaeographical data we are therefore of opinion that the Jina image of the year 12 has to be dated correctly in the year 112 of the Kaniṣka era, so that again with this image the figure for 100 has been omitted.

The third piece of sculpture we want to bring forward is a Jainistic image in the Lucknow Museum, originating from Mathurā (see text-fig. 22) [19]). The sculpture shows on each of the four sides a standing naked Jina figure in a stiff frontal attitude with the arms stretched along the body. In the inscriptions such images are called "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā". Although the lineblock is not very clear in SMITH, on the other hand it is fortunately clearly to be seen that two out of three Jina figures visible in the picture have heads wholly covered with locks in snail-shell technique. In itself this is an indication for a later date as we saw above. But there is more. The image bears the following inscription [20]):



Textfig. 22. Jina image dedicated by Kumaramitā and dated in the year 15 (*The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*)

19) V. A. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pl. XC, fig. 1. The image is mentioned in LÜDERS' *List* as N° 24.

20) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 2.

A. 1. "sa(ṃ) 10 5 gra 3 di 1 asyā pūrvvāya(or e?)
B. 1. (me)hikāto kulāto aryya jayabhuti-
C. 1. sya śiśīninaṃ aryya saṅgamikaye śiśīni
D. 1. aryya vasulaya(or e?) nirvarttanaṃ......
A. 2. lasya dhī(tu) ..i...... (va)dhu veni-
B. 2. (sya) śreṣṭ(h)is(ya) dharmapat(n)iye bhaṭṭisenasya
C. 2. mātu kumaramitayo(or ai?) danaṃ bhagavato (prati)-
D. 2. ma(or ā?) sa(r)vvatobhadrika."

The translation of this, as far as the gaps do not make it incomprehensible, comes to this:

"In the year 15, in the 3rd (month of) summer, on the 1st day, on this occasion as specified, (this) fourfold image of the Lord (was set up as) the gift of Kumaramitā, daughter of ....la, daughter-in-law of ..i......, first wife of guild-master Veni, mother of Bhaṭṭisena, at the request of the venerable Vasulā, the female pupil of the venerable Saṅgamikā, one of the female pupils of the venerable Jayabhuti of the (Me)hika kula."

Another Jina image also in the Lucknow Museum and originating from Mathurā [21]), bears an inscription which we read as follows:

1. "saṃ 80 6 he 1 di 10 2 dasasya dhitu pr(i)yasya k(u)ṭubiniye......

2. .... to kulato aya sa(ṅga)mi(ka)ya śiśiniya aya vasula-(ye) nivatana."

Which means: "In the year 86, in the 1st (month of) winter, on the 12th day (was dedicated this gift) of ...., daughter of Dasa, wife of Priya, at the request of the venerable Vasulā, pupil of the venerable Sa(ṅg)amikā, of the .... kula."

On comparing these inscriptions, it is striking that the same person is mentioned in both, viz. Aryyā Vasulā, the female pupil of Aryyā Saṅgamikā. She is an important person and occupies a distinguished position, namely that of a religious preacher, if we may rely on the inscriptions where she urges laymen to erect images representing the Jina. Such female preachers repeatedly occur in the inscriptions on Jainistic images and they just give us a glimpse of

21) The image is N° 70 in LÜDERS' *List*. Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, N° 12.

the position women occupied in those days in India. Looking at the dates in both inscriptions, it appears that this Aryyā Vasulā exercised her function in the year 15 already, but 71 years afterwards, in the year 86, she still occupies her position. This is most improbable, for in that case she would have had a distinguished position when still extremely young, and moreover she must have reached a very old age, at least between 90 and 100 years and not only that, but she should supposedly have occupied her position until the end of her days [22]).

This improbable situation suddenly becomes as clear as daylight, when we assume that the figure for 100 has been omitted in the first inscription, so that the image really dates from the year 115 of the Kaniṣka era. Should a name of a Kuṣāṇa monarch, reigning at that time, have been mentioned in the inscription, that would contradict this supposition. This not being so, nothing prevents us from assuming that the image dates from the year 115. In that case we need not be surprised if we meet Aryyā Vasulā in an inscription of the year 86 of the Kaniṣka era, who is still alive and occupying her position 29 years afterwards in the year 115, as appears from another inscription. After all, 29 years in contradistinction to 71 years, is a period during which a person can easily occupy the same position.

From a palaeographical point of view there are further indications, that an early date, in casu, in the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign would have been impossible. We only mention the characters *ku* and *bhu* in line B. 1: *kulato* and *jayabhuti* or the rendering of the anusvāra as a dash above the character in line C. 1: *śiśīninaṃ* and so we can state that, besides chronological and epigraphical reasons, there are now style-critical and palaeographic ones as well

22) When we put the question before Professor KONOW in 1947 he suggested a separate era for the inscription of the year 86, beginning halfway in the 1st century A.D., see Ch. I, p. 16. In a recent article he changed his mind and said: "The discrepancy between the two dates 15 and 86 I can only explain by assuming two different eras, the Vikrama era for 15 and that of the Patika plate for 86", *Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions, India Antiqua,* Leiden 1947, p. 197. This explanation of the use of two eras at almost the same time and place seems to us very improbable.

against dating the Jina image, reproduced in textfig. 22, in the year 15 of the Kaniṣka era, while on the other hand everything pleads in favour of dating the image only after the year 100, namely in the year 115 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. 193 A.D.

The fourth piece of evidence for our hypothesis about omitting the figure 100, when dating after the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era, is a Jainistic image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, at present in the Mathurā Museum, N° B. 71 [23]).

As far as the bad drawing by CUNNINGHAM [24]) permits, we read the inscription [25]) on the piece as follows:

1. "saṃ 5 he 4 di 20 asya purvvāye ko(ḷiya)
2. (gaṇa)to ucena(ga)rito sākhāto bramhadā(s)i(kāto) (kulāto aryya?)
3. m(i)hila tasya śiṣyo aryyo (kṣe)rako ta(sya nirvartana?) ......"

Which means when translated:

"In the year 5, the 4th (month of) winter, the 20th day, on this occasion as specified ...... (this image was dedicated at the request?) of the venerable (Kṣe)raka, pupil of ...... (the venerable?) M(i)hila, of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ucenagarī śākhā, the Bramhadāsika kula ....."

Unfortunately we have no photograph of the image at our disposal, and although CUNNINGHAM gives the impression that the sculpture is a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", yet we are unable to say anything regarding the style and possible conclusions to be drawn from it.

However, there is an inscription on another Jainistic sculpture [26]) which we read as follows [27]):

A. 1. "siddha ko(ḷi)yato gaṇato ucena-
2. garito śakhato bamhadāsiato
3. kulato śirigrihato saṃbhokato

23) LÜDERS' *List* N° 20.

24) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIII, N° 3.

25) See also: A. M. BOYER, *L'époque de Kaniṣka, J.A.*, 9e série, tome XV, 1900, pp. 573 seq.

26) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 122.

27) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 37.

4. a(r)yya jeṣṭahastisya śiṣyo a(ryya) mihi(lo)
B. 1. ttasya śisy(o) aryya kṣera-
2. ko vācako tasya ni(r)vata-
3. na vara(ṇa)hasthis(ya)
C. 1. (ca) deviya ca dhita ja(ya)-
2. devasya vadhu moṣiniye
3. vadhu kuṭhasya ku(or tu?)suthasya-
D. 1. dhamrapa(ti)ha sthiraye
2. dana śavadobhadrika
3. sarvrasatvanaṃ hitasukhaye."

The translation of which is:

"Success! The preacher, the venerable Kṣeraka (who is) the pupil of the venerable Mihila, (who was) the pupil of the venerable Jeṣṭahasti, of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ucenagarī śākhā, the Bamhadāsia kula, the Śirigriha saṃbhoga, at his (i.e. Kṣeraka's) request (this) fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Vara(ṇa)hasthi and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Ja(ya)deva (and) daughter-in-law of Moṣinī (and) first wife of Kuṭha Ku(or tu?)sutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

The palaeography of the inscription is in itself already an indication that we are concerned with an image dating from the beginning of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. For instance the character *ku* in line A. 3: *kulato* and in line C. 3: *kuṭhasya* is identical with the *ku* in inscriptions of which we will see that they date from the year 125 and 135 (or 139) of the Kaniṣka era (see list C). The *sa*, e.g. in line A. 1: *siddha*, has a distinct loop at the lower left corner. The *ṇa* has taken a round form, in line A. 1: *gaṇato*, a development of the older form. The *u* in line A. 1: *ucena-* also has a form which does not yet occur in the Kuṣāṇa time and which belongs to the first half of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. But apart from the palaeography there are other important arguments.

A lineblock of this image can be found in SMITH's *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* (see textfig. 23) [28]. It

28) V. A. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pl. XC, fig. 2.

appears that the piece, which is again a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", shows a really striking resemblance to the piece of the year 115, reproduced in textfig. 22. Furthermore, two out of the four Jinas show snail-shell curls on the heads, which, in view of our argumentation on this subject on pp. 238-240, give the certainty that the sculpture dates from the time round about the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era.



Textfig. 23. Jina dedicated by Sthirā and from about the same time as textfig. 22 (*The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*)

Finally the name of Aryya Kṣeraka, the pupil of Aryya Mihila of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ucenagarī śākhā, the Bamhadāsia kula which we found in the previous inscription dated in the year 5, also occurs in the inscription under discussion. It is clear that one and the same person is meant. Now it is impossible that the venerable Kṣeraka mentioned in the above discussed inscription of image N° B. 71 in the Mathurā Museum as living in the year 5 of the Kaniṣka era, could be still alive about the year 100. So we have to assume that here again the figure for 100 has been omitted when dating the image, and that the piece correctly dates from the year 105 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. 183 A.D.

A fifth piece of evidence in favour of our hypothesis is a Jina figure [29]) originating from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and at present in the Lucknow Museum. As far as we can read it the inscription on the base of this image runs [30]):

29) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 29.
30) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, 1892, N° 4.

A. 1. "siddha(ṃ) sa(ṃ) 50(?) (gri 3) di (10) 7 etasya pūrvvā-y(a) koḷiy(ā)to gaṇāto brahmadāsiyāto kulāto uccenā-(gari)to śākhāto (śrī)gṛhāto saṃbhogāto bṛhaṃ(ta) vācaka ca gaṇina ca d(e)vami(t)rasya (śiṣyasya?)

A. 2. aryya (jasu)kasya śiṣya (g)aṇisya aryya pālasya śra-ddhacaro v(ā)cakasya aryya dattasya śiṣyo v(ā)cako aryya sīho (ta)sya nirvvarttaṇā (dva)ṭṭamittasya māṇi-karasya dhitu jayabha(ṭṭa)...dhītu ......sya

B. 1. lohavaṇiyasya vadhu ru(ddaye?) vadhū hāggu(de)vasya dharmmapatniye mittrāye dā(naṃ)......(sa)rvvasat(vā-naṃ) hitasukhāy(e) kākā(he)......(ku)..

2. vāja(ta?)la...............raja........."

The translation of this inscription is:

"Success! In the year 50 (?), in the 3rd (month of) summer, on the 17th (?) day, on this occasion as specified, the preacher the venerable Sīha, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Datta, (who was) the śraddhacara of the gaṇin, the venerable Pāla (who was) the pupil of the venerable (Jasu)ka (who was the pupil) of the great (?) preacher and gaṇin D(e)vami(t)ra of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Brahmadāsiya kula, the Ucce(nāgarī) śākhā, the (Śrī)-gṛha saṃbhoga—at his (i.e. Siha's) request, (this image was dedicated) for the welfare and happiness of all beings ...... (as the gift) of Mittrā, the first wife of Hāggudeva, the daughter-in-law of the ironmonger...... and daughter-in-law of Rudda(?), the daughter of ... Jayabhaṭṭa and the daughter of the māṇikara (Dva)ṭṭamitta."

Although BÜHLER doubted whether we really ought to read *aryya dattasya śiṣyo* in this inscription, in our opinion, this name is rather distinct. The date of this inscription, however, is not absolutely certain and it might mention the year 20 as well as the year 50, but palaeographically speaking 50 is more probable as the form of the character *ku* [character] in line A. 1: *kulāto,* and perhaps in line B. 1 at the end strongly resembles the form of *ku* in the Gupta period. Not only does this form not occur in the Kuṣāṇa period, but not even at the beginning of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. So the date of the piece probably is the year 50.

The form of the *ha* 𑀳 in line A. 1: *gṛhāto,* and B. 1: *lohavaṇisya* and the character *u* in line A. 1: *uccenā(gari)to* 𑀉, also point, in addition to the character *ku,* to a date in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. The horizontal line of the character *u* drops below the line, a peculiarity of the Post-Kuṣāṇa time. In an inscription of the year 48 of the Kaniṣka era the *u* still is a right angle of 90°. The sharp angle of the *da* deserves also attention as this is another late characteristic: 𑀤 𑀤 in line A. 1: *di* and B. 1: *dā(naṃ).*

The name of the preacher Sīha, pupil of the venerable Datta, mentioned in the inscription on this sculpture is exactly the same as the name mentioned in an inscription on a Jainistic image in the Mathurā Museum, N° B. 14, originating from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā [31]). The inscription on the base has the following contents [32]):



Textfig. 24. Jina image found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā

"siddha(ṃ) vācakasya datta-śiṣyasya sīhasya ni(vartanā?)." Which means translated:

"Success! At the request of the preacher Sīha, the pupil of Datta." From the weak little sketch of this pedestal given by GROWSE in an article and book (see textfig. 24), we get only a vague impression of what this pedestal looked like. The small lions again very closely resemble those of the Buddha image discussed, reproduced in fig. 54, dating from the year 122, and those of the Jina reproduced in fig. 56 of the year 112 of the Kaniṣka era. Unfortunately the inscription of the image in question has not been dated, but the style points to a date in the first half of the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era. The form of the characters also points to that

31) LÜDERS' *List,* N° 123.

32) Rubbing in F. S. GROWSE, *Mathurā Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 6, 1877, pp. 216-219, pl. II, fig. 8, and F. S. GROWSE, *Mathurā, A District Memoir,* 2nd ed., North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1880, opposite p. 108.

period. When discussing this piece in his catalogue of the Mathurā Museum VOGEL remarked about the date: "On palaeographical grounds the sculpture is to be assigned to the later Kushaṇa period." [33])

So we see that for style-critical as well as for palaeographical reasons the image has to be dated about the year 122 of the Kaniṣka era.

When, as is extremely probable, the inscriptions of both the images under discussion mention one and the same person, then they must be contemporary. It is, however, impossible that that person had the same position in the year 50 as well as somewhere about 122, so when we know that the one inscription shows a strong stylistic similarity to a piece from the year 122 of the Kaniṣka era, and that the other, which on palaeographic grounds probably belongs more to the Post-Kuṣāṇa age, and is dated presumably in the year 50, then we think it is clear that in the case of this second image we are dealing with a piece in the date of which the hundreds have been omitted, and which therefore belongs to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period, somewhere about the year 122 of the Kaniṣka era, and not to the reign of King Kaniṣka. If the number has to be read as 50, then in our opinion the date will be the year 150 of the Kaniṣka chronology.

In the Lucknow Museum there is a Jina image [34]) which, at first sight, gives the impression that it dates from the Gupta period or still later, especially if one pays attention to the features of the face (see fig. 60). On second thought, however, this is not correct. Comparing the socle of the image with that of the Buddha of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, with the one of Sītalā Ghāṭī of the year 22 (see fig. 54), and with that of the Jina of the year 12 (see fig. 56) we must immediately acknowledge that all three, especially the two last, show such a strong resemblance to the piece in the Lucknow Museum that it undoubtedly must date from the same period, and not from the Gupta age. We see again in the middle of the space flanked by the two small lions the familiar pillar crowned with the

33) J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 69.
34) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 39; Lucknow Museum, N° J. 16 (?).

cakra. On either side of the pillar are four adorants and one or two children, and, as is usual, the men at the left and the women at the right. The lions on each side of the socle raise their heads above the upper ridge of the relief of the socle. This ridge has different sunken and projecting mouldings, the topmost edge is left quite free by the lions' heads, except that the ears on the inside are laid against it. For the rest the heads are exactly the same as those of the lions on the other socles.

We notice, however, a slight change in the manes which here hang rounder over the chests, while the lower ends are no longer visible as they are in the case of the other lions on which below the chests the parting of the hair can be clearly discerned. This distinction in the lions of the Jina discussed here, moreover, accentuates the globular roundness of the chests.

A second difference between these lions and the others is that these animals stand higher on their legs, and thus give a somewhat taller impression. Both the differences observed point out that these lions have attained to a further stage of development in relation to the other fore-mentioned examples selected for comparison and, therefore, our conclusion must be that the image is later than the group dating from about the years 110-120 of the Kaniṣka era with which it has been compared.

Now the Jina image in question bears an inscription in characters which in form remotely resemble those of the Gupta period [35]. We read it as follows:

A. 1. "(siddhaṃ) sa(ṃ) 30 (5) va 3 di 10 asy(āṃ) pūrvvāyāṃ koḷiyāto gaṇato sth(āni)yāto k(u)......
B. 1. va-i-rāto śākh(ā)to śirikāto sa(ṃ)bhokāto aryya baladinasya śiśini kumarami(tra?).......
B. 2. tasya putro kum(ā)rabhaṭi gaṃdhiko tas(ya) (dā)naṃ pratimā vardhamānasya saśita makhita (bo)dhita
C. 1. a(ryya) C. 2. kumāra- C. 3. mitrā- C. 4. ye (ni)-
D. 1. rvva- D. 2. (ta)na."

"Success! In the year 3(5), in the 3rd (month of) the rainy season, on the 10th day, on this occasion as specified (this) image

35) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 7.

of Vardhamāna (was dedicated) as the gift of Kumārabhaṭi, the dealer in perfumes, the son of Kumaramitrā, the female pupil of the venerable Baladina of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Sth(āni)ya kula, the Vairā śākhā, the Sirika sa(ṃ)bhoka, at the request of the acute, polished and awakened venerable Kumāramitrā."

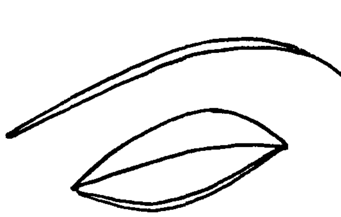
The most striking feature pointing in the direction of the Gupta script is shown by the character *ku,* line B. 1: *kumarami(tra)*; line B. 2: *kum(ā)rabhaṭi* and in line C. 2: *kumāra.* The subscribed *u* is no longer a straight line to the right, but a curve turning downwards, a form that already strongly resembles the form in the Gupta period, when the curve becomes a semi-circle. The *ka* itself has also undergone a change. The box-head at the top of the letter has grown into a rather long stretched-out horizontal line. This is also found in several other letters, as the *va, ta, ra,* and *na.* The cross-bar of the *ka* is also no longer horizontal but somewhat bent, which does not occur in the early Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.

Other letters which show a late form are the *ya* in line A. 1: in *koḷiyāto* and *sth(āni)yāto*; line B. 1: *aryya* and C. 4: *ye,* of which the middle vertical line is oblique, and the left vertical line forms a loop, which also appears in the later inscriptions. The *ya* as second letter in the ligatures *sya* or *yya* displays moreover a very characteristic peculiarity of the later period, namely, the high updrawn tail, which pretty nearly reaches up to the upper line of the *s* or *y,* "inter alia", in line A. 1: *asy(āṃ)*; B. 1: *aryya*; B. 2: *tasya, vardhamānasya.* Further, we mention the character *ṇa,* in line A. 1: *gaṇato,* which has taken the round form X. Finally, the anusvāra, in line B. 2: *(dā)naṃ,* is a dash instead of a dot.

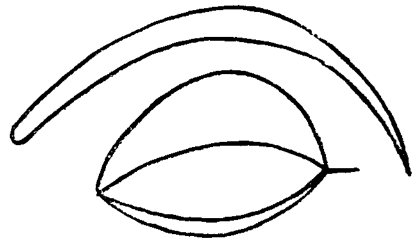
Considering the fact that the character-type displays a stage of development that in all respects lies between the character-type of the Kuṣāṇa age and the Gupta period, and considering also that the socle stylistically obviously connects with pieces which we have shown to be dated in the years 112 and 122 of the chronological system of Kaniṣka, we must also assume for this piece of the year 35 that the number 100 has been omitted, and that the im-

age, therefore, in reality dates from the year 135 of the Kaniṣka era.

It strikes us that the head of the image is a little too large in proportion to the body, but not only that; the style of it does not suit the rest of the image and corresponds more with the heads of the golden age of Gupta art. After an accurate study the following peculiarities are noticeable which we also meet with in Gupta images, such as the Buddha of Yaśadinna [36]), etc. First of all the small mouth, further the long almond-shaped form of the eyes, (see textfig. 25), which, moreover, are half-closed; it is here note-



Textfig. 25. Eye of fig. 60



Textfig. 26. Eye in Kuṣāṇa style

worthy that the upper eyelid is drawn in a straight horizontal line over the eye-ball, while the lower lid is bent in a gentle curve, and is not drawn over the eye-ball. The eyebrows are very thin and straight and high-arched above the eye-sockets. The ears are greatly elongated, and the three lucky folds in the neck (which is uncommonly long) are strongly accentuated and distinct. Further the locks of hair are apparently turned to the left. These peculiarities we have also found in other Jina images of the Gupta period [37]). Along the temples the curls are arranged in one row, which crosses the forehead to the other side of the head (see fig. 72). Finally,

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36) Reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. 32. Further three Buddha heads in the Munich "Museum für Völkerkunde", reproduced in L. SCHERMAN, *Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst,* Bd. VI, 1929, Heft 2, pp. 274-290, figs. 29-32 b, where also the Buddha of Yaśadinna is reproduced as fig. 33.

37) For example J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. 37, a, and a photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, section Jinas, N° 1.

the head has a slight bump, which reminds one of the Buddhistic uṣṇīṣa. This is also a peculiarity which as far as we know never occurs in early Jina images.

When we search for an image that style-critically has strong conformities with the image discussed, then we find two, apart from the Jina of the year 112, in the Jinas reproduced in figs. 61 and 62. These images show the same breadth of the torso at the shoulders, the narrow waist, the widely projecting elbows, the very fat upper arms, the thin legs, the socle with different upper ridges of which only the uppermost is not covered with the heads of the lions. These little animals are, alas, damaged in fig. 61, yet one can still see that they faced inwards and the right-hand one showed, moreover, a bulging chest. In short, the images are as like as "*three*" peas. Fortunately the head, a part of the background and the nimbus have been preserved in the images of figs. 61 and 62. These two last parts are special arguments that these images belong to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. The decoration of the nimbus, as well as the fact that two acolytes are standing at each side of the Jina on a slightly higher level, make an origin from the Kuṣāṇa age impossible.

Now, if we compare the heads of these images with that of the image of the year 135, then the following differences are immediately obvious. First of all the mouth is wider and at the corners is drawn sharply inwards, so that the face has a smiling expression, a characteristic of the school of Mathurā, which we might name an archaic smile. The eyes (see textfig. 26) are rather round, not elongated, and show at the corners the familiar horizontal line to the outside. Both eyelids are high and globular over the eye-balls, while the eyes are obviously open and not half-closed. The eyebrows are thickly executed and run rather closely along the bulging upper eyelids. The ears are somewhat elongated, but because the head is set on a very short neck, which gives the whole image a dumpy appearance, the ears cannot hang so far down and therefore are less elongated than on the head of the Jina image of the year 135. Further there is no uṣṇīṣa-like bump [38]),

38) Ch. III, pp. 167-168.

and the lucky folds in the neck are very indistinct, finally, the locks of hair are disposed round the head in such a way that the curls on the temples are arranged in two or three rows (see fig. 71).

So here we have a dozen distinct differences between the heads which point out that the head of the image of the year 135 does not belong to the Post-Kuṣāṇa age, while on the contrary everything shows that here we are concerned with a piece from the Gupta period (either Buddhistic or Jainistic, but probably the latter on account of the curls turned to the left), which in the nineteenth century was mistakenly fastened on to the much earlier headless image. In the illustration the crack in the neck where the two fragments were joined together is still clearly to be seen.

As a last evidence for our hypothesis about the dating of the sculptures of the Post-Kuṣāṇa age, we will now finally discuss a Jina image in the Mathurā Museum, numbered B. 15, reproduced in fig. 55 [39]). The head and upper part of the nimbus are broken off, as is the right part of the background. The left part fortunately has been preserved together with a small fragment of the nimbus. Here we see an acolyte standing at the right side of the Jina. He has his hands raised in añjali, and betrays his Nāga nature by the snake's hood behind his head; the serpent-heads are, however, broken off. At the left side of the Jina an acolyte has been standing, as appears from the still visible legs. The rest is broken off. Both acolytes stand on a higher level than the one on which the Jina is seated. This raised part has at the top a rather broad, slightly projecting ridge. The nimbus displays the scalloped outer edge which is so characteristic of the whole art of Mathurā, but the inner surface is not covered with ornamental borders and flower-petals, but displays a many-pointed star which actually accentuates the function of a disk imitating rays of light. The socle has in the centre the pillar with the cakra on top, familiar in Jina sculptures, on both sides flanked by three adults and a child. On both sides of this panel there have been in former times two lions facing the front, but they have been broken off; yet the contours are still

39) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 55.

very distinct, and we can see for example that the chests were as round as a barrel.

The image bears a fragmentary inscription which we read as [40]):

1. "saṃvatsare saptapaṃtcāśe 50 7 hemanṭhu(?) (tri)tī(ye?)....
2. ...(se) divase trayodaśaisya(or āṃ?) pūrvvāyāṃ......"

Which translated means:

"In the fifty-seventh year, 57, in the third (month of) winter, on the thirteenth day, on this occasion as specified......."

What is of most importance to us, namely the dating, has fortunately been preserved. Counting on this then, the image would therefore date from the year 57 of the Kaniṣka era.

The Buddha image of the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era (fig. 39) and the Buddha in fig. 40 of about the same time, have small lions whose heads are not raised as far as the top of the covering-slab. The first image in which these lions do project above the stone slab is the Jina image of the year 80 (fig. 45). The socle gives, therefore, a slight indication that the image in fig. 55 presumably does not originate from the year 57 of the Kaniṣka era. Happily there are some other details which confirm our assumption that the number for 100 has been omitted in the date, and these are, in fact, the background that has been preserved with the acolytes on the pedestal, and the fragment of the disk. These parts strikingly resemble those in the Jina figures reproduced in figs. 61 and 62. Here also the two acolytes are standing in añjali-attitude, one of which, the left figure, just as in the image dated in the year 57, appears to be a Nāga. The figurines stand, in all three images, on an elevation above the level on which the Jina is sitting, and the elevation has the same broad, somewhat projecting upper ridge. The disks also show strong conformities, only in the Jina figures reproduced in figs. 61 and 62 there is a pearl-border inside the scalloped edge which is lacking in the image of the year 57. As this pearl-border is something which we have always found in the Gupta images, we are, therefore, able to state that the Jina of the year 57 is presumably, stylistically speaking, earlier than those pictured in figs. 61 and 62.

40) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1892, N° 38.

Besides the facts, that the disks consecutively connect with each other in development, and that there is also a striking conformity between the acolytes, which in all cases stand on a slight elevation, the socles also greatly resemble each other. The Jinas reproduced in figs. 61 and 62 still show very clearly the two lions facing the front, which flank the image, their heads projecting over the stone upper ridge. In between there is a worn-down relief, that apparently in both cases again represents a pillar with the cakra on top, while at the right and left donors are standing.

Considering all these conformities we must indeed state that these images cannot be far distant from each other in space of time, be it that the Jina of the year 57 is perhaps a little earlier on account of the decoration of the disk. If we now only knew the date of the Jinas pictured in figs. 61 and 62, we could be able from that to determine, in a way, the exact date of the Jina of the year 57. Although the second Jina has an inscription this does not give us any further support, for in SMITH's lineblock the inscription is illegible, and the author only mentions that it begins with "namo", which is not enough information to find it in LÜDERS' *List.* The only thing we can make out from the lineblock is that the script is slanting, and, therefore, dates from a late period. Further, from the style of the image the date can be approximately given.

The background of this image shows foliage above and beside the disk, and in the upper corner at the right a hovering celestial. At the other corner to the left there has undoubtedly been another such figure, now broken off. We meet with a similar decoration on the backgrounds of the images in the Gupta period [41]). Now we will in no case assert that on these grounds the Jina image must be dated in the golden age of Gupta art. For this the decoration of the disk is not yet elaborate enough, but we can assume —on grounds of the fact that the disk represents very clearly an earlier stage of the Gupta disks, while the decoration on the background with foliage and hovering celestials shows a great resem-

41) For example V. A. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā,* pl. XCIII; or J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. 37, b.

blance to the same in the Gupta images—that the image dates from the century before the beginning of the Gupta period.

This being stated our following conclusion must therefore be, that the Jina image of the year 57, because of its conformities with the Jina images mentioned, could never be dated in the year 57 of the Kaniṣka era, during the reign of Huviṣka and so, therefore, must also be reckoned as belonging to that group of images, in the dating of which the number for 100 has been omitted, so that the exact date must be the year 157 of the Kaniṣka era.

We could also have pointed out the striking conformities between the image under discussion and the one of the Kaniṣka year 135 or 213 A.D., but with this we will leave the style-critical arguments.

Now for the palaeographic arguments for our opinion: The most remarkable is indeed the letter *ma,* in line 1: *hemanṭhu* which shows the form as we know it from later inscriptions of about the Gupta period, and which only came into use in Mathurā in about 200 A.D. [42]). The *sa* in line 1: *sapta*; line 2: *divase* and *daśaisya*(or *āṃ*?) shows at the left lower side the tendency to become a loop, a form which in the century before the Gupta period came into vogue. The *ya* in line 2: *trayodaśa* and *pūrvvāyāṃ,* has a loop at the left, and the middle vertical line turns slanting to the left, two qualities of this character which only seldom appear in the early Kuṣāṇa time, but all the more often in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. Further the letter *ha* in line 1: *hemanṭhu* can be mentioned as an example of a later character-type, the right side of the character is, namely, very much lengthened and drawn downwards which is not so distinctly accentuated in the earlier character-form of the letter Finally, there is still the form of the superscribed *ī* in a curl above the character in line 1: (*tri*)*tī*(*ye*). We can add that suitable characters have a strongly developed box-head which here and there even grows into a horizontal line, as in Nāgarī script.

42) See Ch. VI, pp. 315-317.

One thing and another show that in the form of the script we find closer confirmation of our opinion that this image also belongs to that group in which the number for 100 has been omitted in the date. VOGEL says in his *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā,* when describing the image concerned à propos of the date of the piece: "Professor Lüders refers this date to the Kushaṇa era; but on account of the character I feel inclined to refer it to the Gupta era, in which case it would correspond to A.D. 376-7." [43]) GEORG BÜHLER who published this inscription along with some others, is also of this opinion: "The next three inscriptions, Nos XXXVIII-XL, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period .... If my conjecture is accepted, its date" (viz. of the image under discussion) "the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found." [44]) Because LÜDERS included this inscription in his list of inscriptions amongst several others that, in his opinion, date from the Kuṣāṇa period [45]), this scholar is seemingly more inclined to connect the year 57 with the Kaniṣka era, and in a certain sense he is right, if we at the same time imply that the number for 100 has been omitted.

That two different opinions existed with regard to the era to which the date has to be ascribed, is of course explained by the fact that the characters have peculiarities which suit both periods, and it depends upon which peculiarity is more emphasized. To us the controversy about the era is one more proof that we are concerned with an inscription lying between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta ages. That the image cannot date from the Gupta period appears plain enough according to our opinion, judging by the strong conformities this image shows with those that date from the end of the Kuṣāṇa age, such as those from Sītalā Ghāṭī and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and the Jina of the year 112, and specially the one of the year 135. In any case VOGEL thought that the script showed a later form than one might expect to find in the year 57

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43) J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 70.

44) G. BÜHLER, *Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā, Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, pp. 195-212, esp. p. 198.

45) LÜDERS' *List,* p. 11, N° 55.

of the Kaniṣka era, and, as a solution for the difficulty he proposed to assign the year to the Gupta era. We think, however, that our solution is more satisfactory considering the foregoing discussions on style. And, seeing that no obstacle arises from the mentioning of the name of one of the reigning Kuṣāṇa royalties, and that at the same time palaeographic and style-critical evidence gives confirmation to this opinion, we would like to assign also this image, as we have said, to the group in which the number for 100 has been omitted in the date.

Summing up we have thus brought forward the following points as documentary evidence for our hypothesis that after the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era the number for 100 was frequently omitted in the dates:

1—The Buddha image dated in the year 22.
2—The Jina image dated in the year 12.
3—The Jina image dated in the year 15.
4—The Jina image dated in the year 5.
5—The Jina image probably dated in the year 50.
6—The Jina image which probably has been enriched, in error, with a head from the Gupta period, dated in the year 35.
7—The Jina image dated in the year 57.

To these proofs of a style-critical, palaeographical, epigraphical and chronological nature, we can still add some considerations which may serve as arguments for our hypothesis as well.

First, the fact that there are inscriptions known from the year 1 until, and including the year 99, and that extraordinarily many inscriptions are known dated in the eighty and ninety years of the Kaniṣka era, while after the year 99 there is not one. This sudden break in the stream of inscriptions can only be explained when the solution proposed by us is accepted, and not by saying that after the death of Vāsudeva all art and written evidence suddenly ended. As we, moreover, shall see further on, the dynasty of Kaniṣka continued [46]). Further, several authors [47]) noticed that

46) See Ch. VI, pp. 306 seq.
47) For instance: A. M. Boyer, *L'époque de Kaniṣka, J.A.*, 9e série, tome XV, 1900, pp. 526-579, esp. pp. 571 seq.

in the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa age different character-types appeared simultaneously, some of which showed a very old-fashioned form, others, on the contrary, decidedly showed a very late form. BÜHLER says for example: "Alle diese Eigentümlichkeiten ... erscheinen in den nördlichen Alphabeten der nächstfolgenden Periode, dem der Gupta-Inschriften und des Bower MS. entweder constant wieder oder sind Vorstufen für die dort auftretenden Formen. Vielleicht waren die in Mathurā gebräuchlichen litterarischen Alphabete schon im 1.-2. Jahrh. p. Chr. dem späteren beinahe oder ganz gleich und sind die Beimischungen älterer Formen nur der Nachahmung der älteren Votivinschriften zuzuschreiben." [48]) And again BANERJI [49]) says: "In fact, it is very difficult to distinguish between Jaina inscriptions of the Kuṣana period and those of the Gupta period, but not between Buddhist inscriptions of the Kuṣana period. The only cause of this is that the Jaina inscriptions of Mathura are in a script which was very much in advance even of the current script of the period .... If we exclude the Jaina inscriptions we find that the characters of the other inscriptions of this period do not show any marked affinity to those of the inscriptions of the Gupta period. The Jaina records of the Kuṣana period form a unique series of Indian epigraphs showing very advanced forms of characters, the parallel of which has not yet been found in India." [50]) This anomaly in the script is explained by our hypothesis that, as has already appeared and further on shall still appear, it is always those images in which the character-type is of a late form, which belong to the group in which the number for 100 has been omitted in the dates. As an explanation for this we might point to the development which the script passed through in the Kuṣāṇa and Post-Kuṣāṇa periods. As an example we took two characters in which the change is clearly observed: the *ku* and *u*. We refer for this to lists C and D (see pp. 391-392). In C one

48) G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie,* Strassburg 1896, § 19 B, p. 41.

49) R. D. BANERJI, *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 37, 1908, p. 52.

50) See also G. S. CHATTERJI, *Two Inscriptions from Kosam, Jhā Commemoration Volume,* Poona 1937, pp. 101-114, esp. pp. 107-108.

sees first of all, from top to bottom the form of the character *ku*, as it appears in the inscriptions of which we are absolutely sure that they date from the years 7, 58, 59, 60, 77 (2 ×) and 86, because in the beginning of the inscription the name of the reigning monarch is mentioned. Proceeding downwards we see the form of the character as it appears in inscriptions, of which we think, for different reasons given in another place, that they date from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. If we now follow the development of the character from top to bottom, we see that a very distinct change can be observed. Under Kaniṣka the cross-bar of the *ka* is still rather horizontal and the dash for the sub-joined *u* at the right below points slightly upwards. Very speedily this becomes horizontal and about the year 77 it gets a tendency at the right extremity to bend a little downwards, while, moreover, the cross-bar of the *ka* by this time is distinctly round. The box-head is now also clearly to be seen as a straight line and no longer only as a thickened dot.

After the transition of the century we notice then that the box-head has grown into a nail-head, or even to a broad straight line, and the *u*-stroke is not only round at the right extremity, but becomes a quite rounded arch; in addition to this the right extremity drops still more under the line, and becomes at last even a complete round hook, which in a still later stage finally grows into a cedilla, and in 152 even into an elegant cedilla ﻪ. If we observe this course of development from top to bottom then it will be clear to everyone that a steady movement is shown, manifesting itself throughout the whole sequence of examples, and that it is entirely impossible that LÜDERS' N° 22a of the year 9 (read 109) could be about contemporary with LÜDERS' N° 21 of the year 7 of Kaniṣka; or to take a more striking example, that LÜDERS' N° 54 of the year 54 (read 154) could be contemporary with LÜDERS' Nos 34 and 56 of the years 59 [51]) and 60 of Huviṣka, or LÜDERS' N° 71 of the year 89 (read 189) could be contemporary with LÜDERS' N° 70 of Vāsudeva's reign. So it is impossible to evade the conclusion that from

51) BÜHLER reads the date as 29; in our opinion the decimal number looks more like 50, but this might be contested, for the inscription at this place is by no means distinct, see rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 6 and p. 385.

N° 8 down to the bottom of this list the number for 100 has been omitted in the dates.

In the same manner as for the character *ku,* we have made up list D for the character *u,* although unfortunately there are fewer examples of *u*'s to be found. We see here a line of development in the *u* which begins with a right angle of 90°; afterwards this takes on a weak box-head in 48 under Huviṣka. In 98 the right extremity appears to bend a little downwards. The development proceeds in a thickening of the box-head, and the lower left corner becomes sharper, while the horizontal line at the right curves increasingly downwards. In the last stage, which we see in LÜDERS' N° 29 and LÜDERS' N° 71 the tendency of the sharp left corner has won from the tendency of the curved horizontal line, for the remarkable fact about the two *u*'s of the years 50 and 89 (read 150 and 189) is the sharp corner at the left side. On contemplating this development it will be clear to everyone that it is impossible to suppose that the form of the *u* appearing in LÜDERS' N° 46 of the year 48 under Huviṣka, and that in LÜDERS' N° 29 of the year 50 (read 150) could be somewhat contemporary and even less could the form of the *u* in LÜDERS' N° 71 of the year 89 (read 189) originate from the same time as that in LÜDERS' N° 77 of the year 98 under Vāsudeva.

All this as well forms again a confirmation of our theory about the omission of the number for 100 in the dates; in the case of the *u* in list D from N° 5 down to the bottom.

Altogether it appears to us that the sequence of arguments summed up in pages 259-262 must do away with all doubts, and that we can indeed now consider our hypothesis as acceptable.

Finally one remark: The wrong idea that later and earlier forms of characters occurred simultaneously in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka and his immediate successors, had a very serious result, viz. that these later characters resembling those of the Gupta period were used as an argument to date Kaniṣka more towards the Gupta period, i.e. in 125, 140 A.D. or even later [52]).

52) V. SMITH, *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320, J.R.A.S.,* 1903, pp. 1-64, esp. pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS OF THE POST-KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

The knowledge, that until the year 157 of the Kaniṣka era, and possibly even after that, dates were given in which the number for 100 was omitted, so that all dates between the years 1 and 57 can just as well pertain to the first half of the 1st century as to the first half of the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era, obliges us to be exceedingly careful with all dates in that period. Before we draw conclusions from a date, we ought therefore to decide first whether the date pertains to the 1st or 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era, unless it is emphatically stated in the inscription that the consecration of the image took place under this or that monarch of the Kaniṣka dynasty, but even then we must still be very careful, as will appear in Chapter Six.

In most cases when we have doubts about the date, an illustration of the image can in our opinion settle them when we compare it with sculptures with fixed dates, so that we are able to find out whether the image is dated in, or after, the Kuṣāṇa age, id est if the number for 100 has been omitted or not. Unfortunately there are very few suitable illustrations of images within reach.

LÜDERS' *List*, in which the different inscriptions are catalogued, gives no description or illustrations of the images bearing those inscriptions, but does give references to the literature in which the inscriptions were discussed. In the articles in the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Indian Antiquary*, in which most of the inscriptions have been published, there are practically hardly ever any illustrations to be found of the images on which these inscriptions are engraved, mostly there is only a rubbing of the inscription itself and the information that it is to be found on an image of a Buddha or a Jina, which is of course totally insufficient, and so, for images at

Mathurā we must nearly always depend upon the rather concise description which VOGEL has given in his *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā* in which those minute details which are of such great importance for a style-critical comparison are never discussed, while there is no description to be had of the images at Lucknow, where most of the pieces with inscriptions are to be found.

Apart from this extreme scarcity of the material which we have at our disposal when we wish to come to a decision concerning style, we have at our service rather extensive and well-illustrated epigraphic material. Now the fact is, that each time we have to decide whether a piece is a hundred years older or not, we receive far more support from the development which the style in these hundred years passed through, than from the changes in the form of the characters during the same period, because characters are more conservative than art, which is more liable to be affected by fashion and taste.

In spite of these difficulties in the sources at our disposal we shall now endeavour with the aid of the very scanty material, to make a number of temporary modifications in LÜDERS' *List* by indicating some images which we think ought to be dated 100 years later. This we do only with the reservation that, if in the future better and more illustrations are available, some statements might have to be changed on the ground of style-critical considerations. If we wish to conduct this search thoroughly and systematically, then we must examine for this purpose all inscriptions which do not emphatically state that the images were made during the reign of a Kuṣāṇa monarch.

In the order in which the inscriptions in LÜDERS' *List* are mentioned N° 16 is the first to be examined. This image was found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum and represents a seated Jina figure. The inscription [1]) does not mention the name of any king, so that, "a priori", there is no urgent reason to date the piece in the Kuṣāṇa age.

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1) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, No. 11.

The contents read:

1. "siddhaṃ sa 4 gri 1 di 20 vāraṇāto gaṇāto aryahāḷakiyāto kulato vajrana(or ka?)garita vaca(ko?)
2. puśyamitrasya śiśini sathisihāye śiśini sihamitrasya sachacari (read sa*dha*cari?) ......
3. dāti sahā grahaceṭena grahadāsena......."

Translated:

"Success! In the year 4, the 1st (month of) summer, the 20th day ...... of the female convert of Sihamitra, the female pupil of Sathisihā, the female pupil of (the preacher?) Puśyamitra, of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, the Aryahāḷakiya kula, the Vajranagarī śākhā...... the gift ...... together with Grahaceta (and) Grahadāsa."

The palaeographical indications make it not impossible, that the inscription dates from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period, so that it would not date from the year 4 as the inscription says, but from the year 104. It looks as if the *ya* [Brāhmī character] in line 1: *arya* has a later form, and the box-heads on the different characters have become horizontal lines. The character *ku,* which is often decisive, appears also in this inscription, but it is not clear whether the *u* is a horizontal line or already curves slightly downwards [Brāhmī character]. As long as there is no photograph of this image, we cannot give a definite verdict on grounds of style and consequently we must content ourselves by placing an interrogation-mark behind the year 4.

The following image (a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā"), about which we are doubtful is N° 19 of LÜDERS' *List,* discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Mathurā Museum, numbered B. 70. According to the description by VOGEL [2]) three of the Jina figures have a nimbus, and the fourth has a seven-headed snake's hood behind his head, so that we can conclude that this last figure apparently represents Pārśvanātha. According to the same description all four figures have a symbol in the middle of the chest which we assume to be the śrīvatsa-symbol, usual for Jina images. "On the four corners of the pedestal", we are quoting VOGEL, "are figurines of devotees facing both ways. There is a round mortice in the top

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2) J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā,* p. 79.

of the stone. The base is broken." It is not clear, whether we have here four adorants each with two heads, or eight adorants, for every side of the piece two, therefore two for every Jina, one at the left and one at the right. In connection with the fact that we have already dealt with several sculptures displaying an acolyte on each side of each of the four Jina figures, it seems to us to be the most probable that we are concerned here with an image that strongly resembles those reproduced in textfigs. 22 and 23, in which also one of the figures was recognizable as Pārśvanātha, and every Jina had its own two acolytes. Unfortunately VOGEL does not mention how the hair was arranged on the different figures, so that for the moment this indication for a date of the image in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period is not available, as long as we have no photograph of the image.

The inscription [3]) which the sculpture bears runs:

A. 1. "siddhaṃ (saṃ 30) 5 he 1 di 10 2 asya purvvāye Koḷi-
A. 2. ji(read: yā?)to Brahmadāsikāto Ucenakarito
B. 1. Śr(i)grihāto ......
B. 2. ......sani(da)......
D. 1. ......bodhi-labhāe vāsudevā prati-
D. 2. ......sarva-sat(tvā?) naṃ hita-sukhay(e)."

Which translated means:

"Success! (In the year 3)5, the 1st (month of) winter, on the 12th day, on this occasion as specified, (at the request of) ...... of the Koḷiya (gaṇa), the Brahmadāsika (kula), the Ucenakari (śākhā), the Śrigriha (saṃbhoga)...(this) image of the Vāsudevas [4]) has been put up in order to attain enlightenment...... for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

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3) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, pl. XIII, N° 2.

4) The Vāsudevas, nine in number, are a class of beings worshipped by the Jainas. See A. GUÉRINOT, *La religion djaina*, Paris 1926, pp. 112, 175; W. SCHUBRING, *Die Lehre der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestellt, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, III. Band, 7. Heft, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, pp. 18 seq. Judging by CUNNINGHAM's sketchy drawing VOGEL's reading: *Viṣ(ṇ)udeva* does not seem to be possible to us, apart from the iconographical difficulties which would then arise (J. PH. VOGEL, *Cat. Museum Mathurā*, p. 79).

According to LÜDERS and CUNNINGHAM the number of the date could also be read as 5 instead of 35. Be that as it may, the possibility that the number for 100 has been omitted is not excluded, as no reigning royalty is mentioned in the inscription. Unfortunately the drawing of the inscription by CUNNINGHAM is so bad, that nothing can be said about the palaeography of it. At the present we know of no fourfold Jina images of which we can with certainty say that they date from the reign of Kaniṣka or his immediate successors. As long as such a specimen is not indicated to us and we do not possess any representation of LÜDERS' *List* N° 19 which on style-critical grounds indicates that we are concerned with an image from the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period we will take the liberty of putting an interrogation-mark behind the date.

Of N° 20 of LÜDERS' *List,* also a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", we have already made it acceptable that it rightly dates from the year 105 [5]).

N° 24, again a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", does not date from the year 15, but from the year 115, as we have seen above [6]).

N° 25 of LÜDERS' *List* is again just such a four-sided piece of sculpture, discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription [7]) on the base runs as follows:

A. "sa 10 8 gṛ 4 di asyā pu..(ye)....yāto gaṇa(to)......
B. saṃbhogāto vacchaliyāto kulāto gaṇi......
D. 1. .....vas(u?)jayasya ma(tu) vā(or mā?)sigiye(?) dānaṃ sarvvat(o)bhad(r)i......
D. 2. ...(sa)rvasavānaṃ sukhāy(e) bhavatu."

The translation runs:

"In the year 18, the 4th (month of) summer, on the 3rd day, on this occasion as specified (this) fourfold (image), the gift of Vāsigi(?), mother of Vasujaya...... (at the request) of ...... a gaṇi of the (Koḷi)ya gaṇa ...., of the .....saṃbhoga, of the Vacchaliya kula. May it be for the welfare of all beings!"

5) See Ch. IV, pp. 244-246.
6) See Ch. IV, pp. 241-244.
7) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol 2, 1894, N° 13.

Again there is no mention of a reigning Kuṣāṇa monarch, which therefore leaves the possibility open to fix the date a century later. When, in addition, positive indications are given by the later form of the characters in the inscription, such as, e.g. the *ku* in line B: *kulāto,* which shows a form that only appears in this manner after the year 98 of the Kaniṣka era; moreover, the character *gr,* which also shows a later form in line A, and the *ya* with a loop at the left, for instance in line B: *vacchaliyāto,* and finally also the *ma* which shows a very late form, if at least we read the word *ma(tu)* in line D. 1. correctly; and when, besides, we also add the pronounced and well-developed box-head, we have, in our opinion, sufficient evidence to assume that the date of N° 25 is actually the year 118 of the Kaniṣka era, and not 18.

N° 26 of LÜDERS' *List* seemed to belong to the doubtful cases, but it was difficult to make a decision. Thanks, however, to the kind intermediation of Mr. BAJPAI, Curator of the Curzon Museum at Mathurā, we recently received a photograph of this image (see fig. 63) which confirms our surmise, that indeed the number for 100 must have been omitted in the date of this sculpture.

It is a standing image of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi, discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. On both sides of the socle there are small pilasters such as we often meet with in the socles from Gandhāra.

The inscription [8]) on the base runs as follows:

1. "... ṣa 10 8 va 2 di 10 1
2. dhitu mita(śi)riye bhagavat(o) ariṣṭaṇimisya (vi)varta(ṇa?) (perhaps: nivartaṇa?)...."

Translated:

"In the year 18, the 2nd (month of) the rainy season, on the 11th day ...... (the gift) of Mita(śi)ri, the daughter of ...... (an image) of the Lord Ariṣṭaṇimi."

The inscription does not give the name of any reigning Kuṣāṇa royalty. Moreover the palaeographical indications are convincing

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8) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 14.

that the inscription must be dated in a late period. Remarkable indeed is the form of the 8 ʢ. This is always a *ha* in the Kuṣāṇa period; we see now that the sign takes a quarter turn, just as it does in some late inscriptions [9]). The pilasters on either side of the base betray strong influences from North-West India, which points to a date after the middle of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era. Further the decoration of the nimbus, which shows a strong resemblance to that of the Jina in the British Museum (see fig. 57), proves that even the second half of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era is impossible as a date for this image and that it was made in the 2nd century of that era. The fact that the hair is still indicated by small semi-circular lines, might point to a date at the very beginning of the 2nd century [10]), and that is exactly the result arrived at when we assume that in the date of this image also the number for 100 has been omitted, and that the image was made in 118 of the Kaniṣka era.

N° 27 of LÜDERS'*List* certainly belongs to the group in which the number for 100 has been omitted in the date. It is again a four-sided Jina sculpture, found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The inscription [11]) on the base runs as follows:

A. 1. "siddham | saṃ 10 9 va 4 di 10 asyaṃ pu-
A. 2. rvvāyaṃ vācakasya aryya bala-
A. 3. dinasya śiṣyo vācako aryya mā-
A. 4. tṛ(or tra?)dina | tasya nirvvartta(n)ā
B. 1. k(o)ḷi(yāto gaṇāto ṭhā)niyāt(o)
B. 2. k(u)l(āto śrigri)hā(to saṃ)bh(o)g(ā)to
B. 3. aryyaveri śākhāto suci-
C. l(i)sya dharmmapatniye le......
D. dānaṃ bhagavato sa(nti)....(pra)timā...

9) See Ch. VI, pp. 315-316.
10) It is, however, not impossible that this method of indicating hair was retained in use by the Jainas for some of their Tīrthaṃkaras in the time that it had been replaced in all Buddha images by the technique of semi-circular lines. The different Tīrthaṃkaras show different ways of hair-dressing.
11) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 3.

A. 5. nā(śa or: ga)...e..........tanaṃ
B. 4. ...(r)ā (na)mo arattatānaṃ sarvvalokutta(mānaṃ)."
Translated:

"Success! In the year 19, in the 4th (month of) the rainy season, on the 10th day, on this occasion as specified, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Baladina, the preacher the venerable Mātṛ-(or tra?)dina; at his request (was dedicated this) image of the Lord Sa(nti......), the gift of Le..., the first wife of Sucili, of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ṭhāniya kula, the Śrigriha saṃbhoga, the Aryya-Veri śākhā [12]) ...... Adoration to the Arhats, the highest ones in the whole world."

A negative indication is again the fact that no reigning monarch of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty is mentioned. Moreover the palaeography furnishes some very positive information by the later form of different characters.

To begin with, the character *ku,* very indistinct in line B. 2, but clear in line B. 4: *lokutta(mānaṃ),* is written in an obviously late form. The dash for the *u* is no longer horizontal. Then the subjoined *ya* (in line A. 1: *asyaṃ*; in line A. 2: *vācakasya* and *aryya*; in A. 3: *baladinasya, śiṣyo* and *aryya*; in line A. 4: *tasya,* B. 3: *aryya,* and C: *sucilisya*) is always drawn very far upwards, and ends only at the height of the top line of the other characters, just as in the Gupta period, a characteristic, which did not appear during Kaniṣka's reign, while under this monarch this ligature very often appears even in the archaic form, in which the sub-joined *ya* still has three uprights. In all characters suited for the box-head it appears very strongly accentuated. Altogether there is reason enough to date the piece in the year 119 instead of 19 of the Kaniṣka era.

N° 28 of LÜDERS' *List,* on the evidence of the contents of the inscription, represents a standing figure of Vardhamāna. The image was found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. Possibly we may draw the con-

12) It is striking that in this case the further indication: "of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ṭhāniya kula, the Śrigriha saṃbhoga, the Aryya-Veri śākhā" seems to belong to the pious donor of the image; see for the general sequence in these inscriptions p. 293.

clusion from the rubbing in the article by BÜHLER [13]) that at the right and left of the chief figure an acolyte is standing on a separate elevation, while the chief figure sits on a projecting dais.

The inscription, which is cut out on the base runs:

A. 1. "siddha sa (20?) gr(i)mā 2 di 10 5 koḷiyāto gaṇato (ṭha)-ṇiyāto kulato verito śakhato śirikāto
B. 1. (sa)...gāto vācakasya aryya saṅghasihasya nirttva(or rvva)rttanā dātilasya............mati-
B. 2. lasya kuṭhubiṇiye jayavālasya devadāsasya nāgadinasya ca nāgadināya ca mātu
C. 1. śrāvikāye di-
C. 2. (nā)ye dānaṃ
C. 3. varddhamānapra-
C. 4. tima—."

We give the translation as:

"Success! In the year 20 (?), the 2nd (month of) summer, on the 15th day, at the request of the preacher the venerable Saṅghasiha of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ṭhaniya kula, the Veri śākhā and the Śirika saṃbhoga, (this) image of Varddhamāna, the gift of the female lay-hearer Dinā, the ..... of Dātila ...... the housewife of Matila, the mother of Jayavāla, Devadāsa, and Nāgadina and Nāgadinā."

At first sight the inscription makes a late impression, on account of the scribbled characters, which, even here and there, tend to become slanting. On closer scrutiny this impression is confirmed by the shape of different characters as, e.g. the character *ku* [character], which obviously in line A. 1: *kulato*, and indistinctly in line B. 2: *kuṭhubiṇiye*, shows a form of the years after 100 of the Kaniṣka era. It does not seem rash to assume for N° 28 of LÜDERS' *List*, that the piece in any case dates after the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era, and if the year is correctly read as 20, then even in the year 120 of that era. The possibility exists, however, that the number is higher (for instance 50), as the reading is not absolutely certain.

The socle belonging to N° 29 of LÜDERS' *List* has already been

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13) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 28.

discussed [14]) and we think we have made it acceptable that the piece undoubtedly belongs to that group in which the number for 100 has been omitted in the date.

N° 30 of LÜDERS' *List* is a seated Jina figure, discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. In the inscription on the base, one must first read the lower line, and then the upper one, as can be deducted from the little disk which the rubbing of BÜHLER still shows [15]); for this disk must undoubtedly be the cakra which we have come across so often, placed upon a small pillar in the midst of a number of adorants.

The contents run as follows:

1. "siddha (ṃ) | sava 20 2 gri 1 di ..(a)sya purvvāyaṃ vācakasya aryya mātridinasya ṇi(vartanā?)
2. sarttavāhiniye dharmmasomāye dānaṃ : namo arahaṃttāna(ṃ)."

The translation is:

"Success! In the year 22, the 1st (month of) summer, the .... day, on this occasion as specified, at the request of the preacher the venerable Mātridina, the gift of Dharmmasomā, the wife of Sarttavāhini (or: a caravan-leader?). Adoration to the Arhats."

The form of the rubbing reproduced in the article by BÜHLER shows that this piece probably had two lions on either side of the pedestal. Unfortunately we have no photograph of the image which would enable us to verify this. The top line of the inscription (according to the contents the second line) leaves at the right and left a small blank space, where as it seems there was no room enough for further characters. This was probably caused by the fact that here two lions' heads projected over the upper ridge of the base. This would, style-critically speaking, point to a date after the year 80, which contradicts the date mentioned in the inscription. But the palaeography also points to a late date of the piece. Not only are the box-heads, wherever possible, strongly accentuated, but also the form of the characters themselves is late. For example, the sub-joined *ya* is continually drawn up as high as the top line of

14) See Ch. IV, pp. 246-249.
15) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 29.

the other characters and the *ya* shows a loop at the left side. Moreover, the contents of the inscription inform us, that the image was established at the request of the preacher, the venerable Mātridina. This same person is also mentioned in the inscription N° 27 of LÜDERS' *List*, which we have already discussed [16]. We saw then that there were arguments enough to assume that that inscription belongs to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period and that it dated from the year 119 of the Kaniṣka era. Now the fact, that in the inscriptions of Nos 27 and 30 one and the same person is mentioned, points out that they originate from about the same time, which brings us to the conclusion that N° 30 also belongs to the group that must be 100 years later than was assumed up till now, and that it dates from the year 122 instead of 22.

N° 31 of LÜDERS' *List* is a very doubtful case. It is a Jina image, discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. On the base the following inscription is engraved [17].

"siddhaṃ saṃ 20(?) 2 gri 2 di 7 vardhamānasya pratimā vāraṇato gaṇato pet(i)vāmika ......"

The second line of the inscription is missing. Translated the first line runs as follows:

"Success! In the year 22 (?) the 2nd (month of) summer, on the 7th day, (this) statue of Vardhamāna (was dedicated) ...... of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, the Petivāmika (kula)...."

The decimal sign for the year looks like this ϴ, which differs from the usual number for 20, which mostly is less circular and more elongated. However, in the Gupta inscriptions round forms resembling that in the inscription under discussion do occur ϴ.

As the inscription does not mention a reigning Kuṣāṇa monarch, this gives no deciding factor. The only other point that does give support after studying the forms of the characters is that of the character *ṇa*, which apparently has a later form, as it shows below at the left a loop, the result of writing the character quickly, which shape was taken over, in the long run, by the characters cut in

16) See pp. 269-270.

17) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 20.

stone . This is the form which bridges the gap between the -shape of the late Kuṣāṇa age, and the one which the *ṇa* in Gupta and late Post-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions displays .

In the meantime this is the only indication that could allow of a date after the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era and in the Post-Kuṣāṇa age. Consequently it would be advisable to study a reproduction of the image from a style-critical point of view, in order to arrive at a definite conclusion in one or the other direction; but at the moment we have no photograph at our disposal.

N° 32 of LÜDERS' *List* is an inscription [18] on a Jainistic image discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The contents run as follows:

A. 1. "savatsare pa(ṃ)caviśe hemaṃtama(se) tritiye divase vīś(e) asya kṣuṇe

B. 1. koḷiyato gaṇato bra(hma)dāsikato kulato ucenāgarito śākhato arya balatratasya śiṣo sadhi-

B. 2. sya śiṣini graha.........ivatana (naṃ)disya (dh)ita jasu-(ka)sya vadhu jaya(bha)ṭṭasya kuṃtūbiniya(or e?) rāya-giniye (dhu or vu)suya(?)."

Translated:

"In the twenty-fifth year, the third (month of) winter, on the twentieth day, at this moment, (this dhu- or vusuya?), was dedicated by Rāyagini, the daughter of (Naṃ)di, the daughter-in-law of Jasu(ka), and wife of Jaya(bha)ṭṭa, at the request of Graha ...... the female pupil of Sadhi, pupil of the venerable Balatrata of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Bra(hma)dāsika kula, the Ucenāgarī śākhā."

The word *kṣuṇe* makes one think of *kṣaṇe,* but on closer scrutiny of the rubbing the ligature decidedly shows the sign for the subjoined *u.* This is not the only inscription which displays this peculiarity. In LÜDERS' List we find it in the following numbers: 12, 32, 34, 36, 53, 71, 77, 86, 87. This word is also frequently met with in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, so that influence from the North-West is not excluded. Professor KONOW informed us that the *ā* in Saka is pronounced *u.* In the meantime this peculiar word

18) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 1, 1892, N° 5.

is no support for the determination of the date as we find the word as well in an inscription of the year 59 [19] (a piece, that, according to LÜDERS, dates from the year 29, but that in our opinion could just as well be thirty years later) and also in an inscription which originates from the year 189 of the Kaniṣka era [20] (and in our opinion is not dated in the year 87 but 89), as the number for 100 in the date of this piece has also been omitted [21].

But although the word *kṣuṇe* is no reason to class inscription N° 32 with those cases in which one must rightly add 100 to the dates, there still remain the indications which the form of the script provides us with. "Prima facie" this appears to be a very late form; in the first place it has a great tendency to become slanting and, moreover, wherever possible the box-head is strongly accentuated, and here and there has even become a horizontal line.

The cross-bar of the *ka* is not horizontal, but bent. Further the character *ku* is also remarkable. The sign for the sub-joined *u*, namely in line B. 1: *kulato* and line B. 2: *kuṃtūbiniya,* is composed of two strokes, one of which is nearly horizontal, and the other slants downwards in a curve. It is possible that we are concerned here not with an *u* but with an *ū*. Then the *sa* in line A. 1: *savatsare, divase* and *asya*; line B. 1: *bra(hma)dāsikato, balatratasya* and *sadhisya* and line B. 2: *jasu(ka)sya,* has a loop at the left lower corner. The sub-joined *ya* in line A. 1: *asya*; B. 1: *balatratasya*; B. 2: *sadhisya, jasu(ka)sya* and *jaya(bha)ṭṭasya,* draws the right tail very high up nearly to the top line of the other letters. Finally the *ṇa* has a very distinct round form in line A. 1: *kṣuṇe* and B. 1: *gaṇato* and the right end of the *ha* goes very far down, in line A. 1: *hemaṃta*, while the two lower corners on the line are rather sharp. The *ya* of which the middle upright is slanting, has a late form, e.g. line B. 2: *kumṭūbiniya* and *rāyaginiye.*

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19) LÜDERS' *List,* N° 34; see also p. 261, note 51.
20) LÜDERS' *List,* N° 71.
21) See pp. 299-300.

In addition to this one gets the impression from the rubbing that the inscription in line B. 2 after: *jaya(bha)ṭṭasya* goes on to the side of the pedestal. There is a dividing line in the rubbing made by the corner of the pedestal. It seems as if we can vaguely discern in the rubbing the claws of the lion at our right side on the base. The space between the paws would be exactly half of the length that the inscription on the lower ridge of the base is longer than the line on the upper ridge. The conclusion would be that the line on the upper ridge is so much shorter than the lower line, because the lions' heads project over the top of the upper ridge. This would also be an indication that the inscription dates from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. BÜHLER, however, states that the inscription is incised on the side and back of the pedestal which seems rather queer. If BÜHLER is not mistaken, then of course our argument of the lions' heads does not count.

Finally the persons mentioned in this inscription seem to occur also in inscription LÜDERS' *List* N° 29 of which we have proved in pp. 246-249 that it belongs to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. Both pertain to the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Brahmadāsika kula, the Uccenāgarī śākhā and mention Jasuka and Jayabhaṭṭa.

All these enumerated peculiarities point to a late date, so that in our opinion, N° 32 of LÜDERS' *List* belongs to the group, which up till now has been dated a century too early, and therefore it rightly originates from 125 of the Kaniṣka era.

The following image in LÜDERS' *List* which deserves further consideration is N° 36, a Jina image found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription[22]) which this image has on its base, runs as follows:

A. "sa 30 1 va 1 di 10 asma kṣuṇe

B. 1. ..yāto ga(ṇa)to aryyaverato śākhato (ṭha)ṇiyāto kulāto maha(to) | kuṭuṁbiṇiye graha

B. 2. ....(arya)..dāsasya nivarttanā buddhisya dhitu devilasya | śiriy(e) dāṇaṃ."

In line B. 1 after *maha(to)* we must go on to line B. 2; then

22) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 15.

continue until *devilasya,* after that read to the end of B. 1 and after that again to the end of B. 2. Possibly the right part of the rubbing in reality is the side in this case too.

The translation in this sequence would be:

"In the year 31, the 1st (month of) the rainy season, on the 10th day, at this moment (this) gift (was made) by Grahaśiri, daughter of Buddhi, wife of Devila at the request of the great ...... the venerable ......dāsa, of the (Koḷi)ya gaṇa, the Aryya-Vera śākhā, the (Ṭha)ṇiya kula."

Although we do not know any more peculiarities about this image the inscription alone is sufficient to convince us that in this case we are dealing with a date which has omitted the number for 100. Indeed the following character-forms are decisive: First the character *ku* in line B. 1 has in the words *kulāto* and *kuṭumbiṇiye* a remarkable late form, the sub-joined *u* has here even become a cedilla: . Then, moreover, the form of the *sa* with a loop in the left lower corner, in line B. 2: *dāsasya, buddhisya, devilasya,* apparently especially when it is combined with the sub-joined *ya,* for in line A: *sa* and *asma* and line B. 2: *dāsasya,* the *sa* does not show this small loop. Next, the round form of the *ṇa* in line A: *kṣuṇe,* in line B. 1: *(ṭha)ṇiyāto,* and *kuṭumbiṇiye,* and line B. 2: *dāṇaṃ.* Then the *ya* shows a loop at the left side, and sometimes the middle upright has a tendency to drop to the left in line B. 1: *yāto, aryya, (ṭha)ṇiyāto,* and *kuṭumbiṇiye,* in line B. 2: *śiriy(e).* Finally the right end of the *ha* goes rather far down in line B. 1: *graha* .

The script has a general inclination to become slanting, and the box-head is strongly accentuated, sometimes it has even become a horizontal line. One thing and another in our opinion presumably point to an origin in the year 131 of the Kaniṣka era.

The following image N° 37 is again a quadrilateral Jainistic image, found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The inscription [23]) on the base runs as follows:

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23) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 16.

A. 1. "siddham sa(ṃ)vatsare 30 2 hemantamāse 4 divase 2 vāraṇato gaṇāto.... yāto ku-

A. 2. ....

B. 1. (ga?)ṇi arya nandikasya nirvvarttanā jitamitraya ru(dra?)-nandisya dhītu buddhisya kuṭumbiniye prā(bhā?)-

B. 2. rikasya..nī...i(s)ya mātu gandhikasya arahantapratimā sarvvatobhadrikā."

Translated:

"Success! In the year 32, the 4th month of winter, on the 2nd day, a fourfold image of the Arhats (was dedicated) by Jitamitrā, daughter of Ru(dra?)nandi, wife of Buddhi, mother of Prā(bhā?)-rika and of the perfumer...nī....., at the request of the (gaṇi?) the venerable Nandika, ...of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, the ......ya kula."

Although it is not proved that suchlike quadrilateral images did not already exist in the early Kuṣāṇa period, yet in all probability they belong to the Post-Kuṣāṇa age, as there is not one single quadrilateral image found which can with certainty be stated as originating from the early Kuṣāṇa period, while on the other hand we have been able to point out several examples of which we can make acceptable that they date from the Post-Kuṣāṇa age.

In addition to this we can state that in the inscription belonging to the quadrilateral figure N° 37 of LÜDERS' *List,* no mention is made of a reigning Kuṣāṇa king. The script gives a complete confirmation of our surmise that the piece originates from the Post-Kuṣāṇā age. First, the general trend of the script is sloping. The box-head, besides, has grown here and there into a horizontal line. The character *ku,* which so often has been a decisive factor, here shows a late form, e.g. in line A. 1: in the last character *ku,* and in line B. 1: *kuṭumbiniye.* The sub-joined *u* is in this case combined with the character in such a way that the vertical line underneath becomes a curl. Further, the *ṇa* has a decidedly round form in line A. 1: *vāraṇato* and *gaṇāto*; in line B. 1: the first character *ṇi.* The *na* appears to us in one place to show already a form which begins to resemble the later Gupta *na* , namely in line B. 2: *rikasya..nī,* where we think that a small loop at the left of the character is visible . The strange form of *sya* in line B. 1:

ru(dra?)nandisya deserves notice. Here the sub-joined *ya* is not connected to the right vertical upright of the *sa*, but to the left upright. Finally there is yet the angular form of the *da* and the *ha* in line A. 1: *divase* and *hemanta*.

All these enumerated characteristics of a late script are, we think, convincing enough to come to the ultimate conclusion that the image could not possibly have been made in the year 32 of the Kaniṣka era under King Huviṣka. N° 37 of LÜDERS' *List* therefore dates, in our opinion, from the year 132 of the Kaniṣka era.

We have already made it clear that N° 39 of LÜDERS' *List* was not made in the year 35, but rather in the year 135 [24]).

After some numbers which do mention the name of a reigning Kuṣāṇa monarch in the heading of the inscription, in N° 44 of LÜDERS' *List* this part is lacking. It is a Jina image, found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription [25]) on the base runs as follows:

"siddham saṃ 40 5 va (2 or 3) di 10 (7) etasya purvv(ā)yā......
......yaye buddhisya vadhuye dharmmavṛddhisya...."

Translated:

"Success! In the year 45, the (2nd or 3rd month of) the rainy season, on the 17th (?) day, on this occasion as specified ...... by the daughter-in-law of Buddhi, the ...... of Dharmmavṛddhi ......"

The shape of the characters in general does not give a rather late impression although on the other hand, they are neither exceptionally archaic. They are rather small and carefully carved, and do not have that carelessness and slantingness that marks the characters of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. The *ya*, however, shows in some cases the loop at the left, which becomes normal in the later inscriptions. Only a photograph of the image could be decisive here, but up till now the form of the characters gives the impression that we are concerned with an inscription from the Kuṣāṇa period. Now, as we saw [26]), there has been a dispute about the characters for 40 and

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24) See Ch. IV, pp. 249-254.
25) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 10.
26) See Appendix to Chapter I.

70 regarding the date of the Āmohinī relief, about which RAPSON and LÜDERS in turn voiced their opinions. To us it seems that LÜDERS' opinion has the greatest chance of being correct. We have tried by way of arguments to substantiate this, and therefore the inscription under discussion seems to be dated in the year 45 of Kaniṣka's era.

After this follows LÜDERS' *List* N° 45, a Jina image also discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription [27]) on the base runs as follows:

1. "sa 40 7 gra 2 di 20 etasya purvayaṃ varaṇe gane petivamika kule vācakasya dehanadisya śisasya senasya nivatanā savakasya
2. puṣasya vadhuye giha....k(u?)tibi(n)i .....(puṣa)dina(sya) (mātu)."

Translated this means:

"In the year 47, the 2nd (month of) summer, on the 20th day, on this occasion as specified, at the request of Sena, the pupil of Dehanadi, a preacher in the Varaṇa gaṇa, the Petivamika kula, (the gift) of ...... the daughter-in-law of the lay-hearer Puṣa, the housewife(?) of Giha...., the mother of (Puṣa)dina."

Considering that which we have just remarked about the signs for 40 and 70, it is probable that the date of this piece is 47.

In the inscription it is said that the erection of this image took place at the request of Sena, the pupil of Dehanadi. Now this selfsame Sena, pupil of Dehana(n)di, is mentioned in an inscription on a Jina image found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Lucknow Museum [28]). Although the inscription is very fragmentary [29]), the words *mahārājasya rājātirājasya* can still be distinguished at the beginning of the inscription.

1. "siddham mahārājasya rājātirājasya.........
2. dehanandisya śiṣyeṇa sen........."

Translated:

"Success! (In the year....) of the great King, the supreme King of Kings...... by Sena, the pupil of Dehanandi...."

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27) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 30.
28) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 81.
29) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 27.

It is well-known that these titles are specific for the kings of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, and so we can accept the fact that this piece must be dated before or about the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era.

Suppose now the fact, that in the inscription of LÜDERS' *List* N° 45 the number for 100 is indeed omitted, and that therefore the image is correctly dated in the year 147, then we should have to conclude that the preacher Sena, mentioned in 147, was already in function during the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. This is of course not impossible, but the likelihood is not great, that the image N° 81 of LÜDERS' *List* was made just about the year 100, and the earlier the image was made, then the longer the term of office which we must suppose for Sena. To this, moreover, must be added the general impression made by the script at first sight. The characters are small and carefully carved in the stone. They lack that carelessness and slantingness of the inscriptions of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. A number of characters which in the Post-Kuṣāṇa age always show an accentuated box-head, are here given almost without this characteristic.

All things considered we do not think that there is a great chance that the image in question, N° 45, belongs to the group which possibly omitted the number for 100 in the date.

LÜDERS' *List* N° 47, an image of the Arhat Nandiavarta, found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and at present in the Lucknow Provincial Museum [30]), surely dates from the year 49 of the Kaniṣka era (see fig. 66). BÜHLER reads the date as 79 [31]) and so do RAPSON [32]) and VOGEL [33]). The decisive proof for our opinion, even if no name of a reigning Kuṣāṇa monarch is mentioned in the remaining fragment, is the fact that the base is flanked by small lions, turned out-

30) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 20.

31) G. BÜHLER, *Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, pp. 195-212, esp. N° XX, p. 204, and *Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurā, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, pp. 311-323, esp. p. 321.

32) E. J. RAPSON, *The date of the Āmohinī Votive Tablet of Mathurā, Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, p. 51, and *The Numeral 40 in Inscriptions at Mathurā during the Śaka and Kuṣana period, Acta Or.*, vol. XI, 1933, p. 263.

33) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 127.

wards, which was customary in the first half of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era.

LÜDERS' *List* N° 48 is again a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", and, judging by the rubbing, acolytes are standing at the right and left of the figures on the four sides.

The sculpture was discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription [34]) round about the base runs as follows:

A. 1. "......(6?)..he..di 10
B. 1. etasya pūrvvāya varaṇato ga(ṇa)-
C. 1. to āryyahāḷak(ī)yato kulato
D. 1. vajanagarit(o) ś(ā)kh(ā)t(o) śi(ri)yat(o)
A. 2. ....(ga)to dat(i)sya śiśiniye
B. 2. mahanandisya saḍhacariye
C. 2. balava(r)maye nandaye ca śiśiniye
D. 2. aka(or ā)maye nirvvarttanā ......
A. 3. ..(sya) dh(ī)tu gramiko jayadevasya vadhūye
B. 3. (gra)miko jayanāgasya dharm(m)apatniye sihadata(sya?)
C. 3. (matu ??)...pā(or lā?)ye danaṃ."

The translation runs:

("Success! In the year) (6?), the .....(month of) winter, on the 10th day, on this occasion as specified (was dedicated) this gift of ...pā(or lā) (mother of?) Sihadata, first wife of the village headman Jayanāga, the daughter-in-law of the village headman Jayadeva, daughter of ... at the request of Aka(or ā)mā, the female pupil of Nandā and of Balavarmā, the saḍhacari of Mahanandi, female pupil of Dati, of the Varaṇa gaṇa, the Āryya-Hāḷak(ī)ya kula, the Vajanagarī śākhā and the Śi(ri)ya saṃbhoga."

The inscription does not mention the name of a reigning monarch, so that the possibility exists that this sculpture dates from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. The number in the date has a peculiar shape ꟼ and according to BÜHLER must be read as 40, but in our opinion it does not look very much like the ordinary sign for 40 [35]),

34) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 11.

35) See also LÜDERS' opinion in *Three early Brāhmī Inscriptions*, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, 1907-'08, pp. 239-248, esp. p. 244.

although it is possible that the number was damaged and therefore is mis-shapen. As it now stands it resembles the much later 6 𑁬, but we do not dare to take a decision. Further, the script makes a very slovenly impression, written rather slantingly, so that on account of details, such as the form of the *ya* with a loop at the left, we may surmise that the script dates from the very latest time of the Kuṣāṇas, or even from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. In the character *ku* 𑀓𑀼 in line C. 1: *kulato* the sub-joined *u* slopes somewhat downwards, which appears in this character between the years 70 and 120 of the Kaniṣka era. The script of this inscription deserves notice also on account of the remarkable ligature *nda,* in which the sub-joined *da* in lines B. 2: *nandisya* and C. 2: *nandaye* strongly resembles the sub-joined *ya* 𑀬.

Adding one thing and another to the fact that this object is a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", it is very probable that N° 48 belongs to the beginning of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. Meanwhile as long as no reproduction of the image is available we could suggest 106 as a possible date for N° 48 placing an interrogation-mark behind it.

Proceeding we now come to N° 50 of LÜDERS' *List.* This figure of Vardhamāna, found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription [36]) on the base runs as follows:

1. "....(7?) he 2 di 1 asya purvvayā varaṇato gaṇato ayya nyistakulato (sa).......
2. ..khato śirigrihato sabhogato bahavo vacak(o) ca gaṇino ca samadi..
3. ..vasya dinarasya śiśini ayya jinadasi paṇatidhari taya śiśini a(yya?)
4. ghakarabapaṇatiharama(or ā?)sopavasini bubusya dhita rajyavasusya dhama....
5. d(e)vilasya matu viṣṇubhavasya pidamahika vijayaśiriye dana vadha....
6. ...."

36) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 36.

The translation is as follows:

"......(7?), the 2nd (month of) winter, on the 1st day, on this occasion as specified, (was erected this image of) Vadha(māna), the gift of Vijayaśiri, daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rajyavasu, mother of Devila, paternal grandmother of Viṣṇubhava, who fasted for a month, the paṇatihara of A(yya)....ghakaraba (who is) the female pupil of the venerable paṇatidhari Jinadasi, the female pupil of Dinara, the great(?) preacher, gaṇi and samadi (?) of the Varaṇa gaṇa, the Ayyanyista(?) kula, the sa(ṃkāsiyā) śākhā, and the Śirigriha saṃbhoga......"

The date of the year is undecipherable. It could also be the number for 50. In the case of 7 the possibility exists that a decimal stood before it so that nothing certain as to the date can be said.

The general impression of the script is that it is not exceptionally slovenly and slantingly written, but several characters show a later form which points to a date in the last decennia of the Kuṣāṇa period, or in the first decennia of the following century; besides this, the box-head is present, but has not yet developed into a horizontal line which occurs in the later Post-Kuṣāṇa period.

In the character *ku,* line 1: *kulato*, the horizontal cross-bar of the *ka* is no longer purely horizontal but rather bent, and the *u* below is again composed of two lines, the upper one being horizontal, and the lower one descending in a curve. This same peculiarity we found already in the inscription N° 32 of LÜDERS' *List* of the year 25 (read 125) of the Kaniṣka era. The sub-joined *u* in line 5: *matu* and *viṣṇubhavasya*, displays the bent line, although no second horizontal line is visible above it. The sub-joined *ya* in line 1: *asya*; line 4: *bubusya, rajyavasusya*; line 3: *vasya, dinarasya, ayya*; line 5: *d(e)vilasya* and *viṣṇubhavasya,* draws the right upright very high up, even to the top line of the other characters. We have met with this peculiarity in inscriptions from the end of the Kuṣāṇa period and onwards. The *ha* takes the right stroke nearly down to the base line of the character in line 1: *he*; line 2: *śirigrihato*; line 4: *paṇatihara*;

line 5: *pidamahika*; moreover the lower corners are very sharp. The *ṇa* has a rather round shape in line 1: *varaṇato* and *gaṇato*; line 2: *gaṇino*; line 3: *paṇatidhari*; line 4: *paṇatihara*; line 5: *viṣṇubhavasya.* Then in nearly all cases the *ya* has a loop at the left but the central vertical line does not always lean to the left, for instance in line 1: *purvvayā* and *ayya*; line 3: *ayya* and *paṇatidhari*; line 5: *vijayaśiriye.* Finally, let us mention the shape of the *da* which displays a sharp corner at the left, and slants downwards to the right 𑀤 as for example in line 3: *dinarasya, jinadasi*; line 5: *d(e)vilasya, pidamahika* and *dana.* The *na* in very many cases strongly resembles the *ta* as for example in line 5: *dana,* a peculiarity even more pronounced in later script 𑀦.

All the peculiarities we have summed up prove that the script, although not so very late, still in any case does not date from the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa time, and rather belongs to the last decennia of that period, more likely even to the beginning of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period.

There is still one fact that might point to a date in the Post-Kuṣāṇa time. In the inscription the donor of the Vardhamāna image is more explicitly indicated as the mother of D(e)vila, and the grandmother on the paternal side of Viṣṇubhava. Now, we have been informed in the inscription N° 36 of LÜDERS' *List* dated in the year 31 (read 131) of the Kaniṣka era [37]), that the image which bears that inscription was dedicated by a certain Grahaśiri, the wife of Devila. Unfortunately we are not certain whether this son of Vijayaśiri and the husband of Grahaśiri were one and the same person, for Grahaśiri does not say of herself that she was the mother of Viṣṇubhava, as well as the wife of Devila. In that case there would be no doubt whatever. Now it would not be impossible, that, if both Devilas were one and the same person, Grahaśiri had not yet had a son when she dedicated the image N° 36 of LÜDERS' *List,* but that, when her mother-in-law donated the image N° 50 of LÜDERS' *List* she (Grahaśiri) had in the meantime given birth to a son Viṣṇubhava. According to this argument

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37) See pp. 276-277.

image N° 50 would then be of later date than image N° 36, and therefore would have to be dated later than the year 131 of the Kaniṣka era. It is also possible that Grahaśiri was already the mother of Devila in 131, but that for want of space this could not be cut into the stone. In favour of this pleads the fact that, as we saw, part of the inscription of N° 36 was engraved on the side of the image.

Now follow Nos 53 and 54 of LÜDERS' *List.* We will first deal with N° 54, because we have a reproduction of this figure at our disposal (see fig. 59). This image was found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It represents the goddess Sarasvatī sitting in a squatting position. In her left hand she holds a book, and with her right hand she clasps a rosary, of which on investigation four beads can still be seen. The rest of the hand as well as the head is broken off. The goddess sits in front of a stone background upon a dais, which is placed on a socle. On either side of this dais stands an adorant. The figure at her left raises his hands in añjali, the other figure carries an urn, or jar, presumably for holy water, on a cloth in his hands, an attitude which adorants often show. Now the arrangement of the sculpture: the worshipped figure seated or standing on a dais, superimposed on a base on which the dedication is inscribed, while on both sides adorants are standing on the base itself, is one of the specific characteristics of Post-Kuṣāṇa art, see for example the Jina figures LÜDERS' List Nos 24 (see textfig. 22 on p. 241), 25 [38]), 27 [39]), 48 [40]), and 122 (see textfig. 23 on p. 246), which, judging from the reproductions and rubbings show a similar arrangement.

The inscription [41]) on the dais and on the socle runs as follows:

1. "(sid)dham sava 50 4 hemaṃtamāse catu(r)tth(e) 4 divas(e) 10 a-
2. sya purvvāyāṃ koḷeyāto gaṇāto sṭhāniyāto kulāto
3. vairāto śakhāto śrīgṛh(ā)to saṃbhogāto vācakasyāryya

38) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 13.
39) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 3.
40) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 11.
41) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 21.

4. (gha)sta(or u?)hastisya śiṣyo gaṇisya aryya māghahastisya śraddhacaro vācakasya a-
5. ṛyya devasya nirvvarttana govasya sīhaputrasya lohikakarakasya dānaṃ
6. sarvvasatv(ā)n(ā)ṃ hitasukhā ekasarasvatī pratīṣṭhāvitā stavatale(na) dānavato
7. dha(r)m(e?)."

The translation is as follows:

"Success! In the year 54, in the fourth month of winter, 4, on the 10th day, on this occasion as specified, a Sarasvatī, the gift of the smith Gova, son of Sīha, (was) erected at the request of the preacher the venerable Deva, the śraddhacaro of the gaṇin the venerable Māghahasti, the pupil of the preacher the venerable (Gha)sta(or u?)hasti, of the Koḷeya gaṇa, the Sṭhāniya kula, the Vairā śākhā, the Śrīgṛha saṃbhoga, for the welfare of all beings."

In the script various characteristics can be observed. In general the box-head is strongly marked. The character *ku* shows in line 2: *kulāto* a form, which is precisely the same in the Gupta inscriptions, for the sub-joined *u* has become a comma under the character. Further the *ṛ*, in line 3: *śrīgṛh(ā)to* also has the same shape as in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, namely a cedilla turning to the right. In the inscriptions from the Kuṣāṇa time, and the early Post-Kuṣāṇa period, the *ṛ* seldom appears, and is mostly substituted by *ri*. The superscribed *o* has the form of an accolade, such as the later North-Indian alphabets mostly show, and the ancient v-form is completely lost: in place of ; see for example the four *o*'s in line 2, and the four *o*'s in line 3. Most *sa*'s still show the older form, but the *sa* in line 1: *divas(e)* seems to show the later form with a loop added to the lower left corner, just as was mostly customary in the Gupta period. Further, *ha* and *la* show very sharp lower corners, as for example in line 1: *hemaṃta*; line 3: *śrīgṛh(ā)to*; line 4: *(gha)sta(*or *u?)hastisya, māghahastisya*; line 5: *sīhaputrasya*; line 6: *hita*: ; and line 2: *kulāto*; line 5: *lohikakarakasya*; line 6: *stavatale(na)*: .

We must specially mention that in the original photograph the character *tu* in line 1 is more distinct than in the rubbing (see fig. 59). We discern a distinct little arch at the foot of the *ta* ⅄, which is also a more recent feature, as we have already mentioned in connection with the character *ku*. In the older inscriptions *tu* is continually repeated with a horizontal line ⅄. The *ya* shows a loop at the left side and the middle upright inclines almost always to the left, line 2: *purvvāyāṃ, koḷiyāto, sṭhāniyāto*; line 3: *āryya*; line 4: *aryya*; line 5: *aryya*. It is possible that finally the character *ra* in line 4: *śraddhacaro* and line 5: *lohikakarakasya* shows a later form owing to the upward curve of the vertical stroke J and also perhaps the anusvāra, on account of the fact that it seems to be a dash in line 5: *dānaṃ*.

All these peculiarities in style and character-forms indicate that the inscription must be later than the year 54 of Kaniṣka's chronological system. As no reigning monarch is mentioned in the contents there is no objection to express our opinion that the image of Sarasvatī, LÜDERS' *List* N° 54, must be dated 100 years later, and indeed in the year 154 of the Kaniṣka era, that is to say in 232 A.D.

Now, according to the inscription this Sarasvatī image was made at the insistence of the preacher Aryya Deva, the companion of the gaṇin Aryya Māghahasti, pupil of the preacher Aryya Hastihasti of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Sṭhāniya kula, the Vairā śākhā, the Śrīgṛha saṃbhoga. This same person is mentioned in the inscription on the image N° 53 of LÜDERS' *List*, a Jainistic image found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, at present in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription [42]) on the base runs as follows:

1. "siddha saṃvatsar(e) dvāpanā 50 2 hemantu(mā)sa pratha-(ma) dīvasa pa(ṃ)cavīśa 20 5 asma kṣuṇ(e) k(o)ḷiy(ā)to gaṇāto
2. verāto śakhato sṭanikiy(ā)to kulāt(o) śrīgṛhato saṃbhogāto vācakasyāryya ghastuhastisya
3. śisyo gaṇisyāryya ma(ṃ)guhastisya ṣaḍhacaro vācako aryya dev(o) tasya nirvvartanā śūrasya śrama-

42) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 18.

4. ṇakaputrasya goḷikasya lohikākārakasya dānaṃ sarvva-satvānaṃ hitasukhāyāstu —"

Translation:

"Success! In the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, on the twenty-fifth day, 25, at that moment (was dedicated this) gift of the smith Goḷika, the Śūra, the son of Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher, the venerable Deva, the śraddhacara of the gaṇi, the venerable Ma(ṃ)guhasti, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Ghastuhasti of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Verā śākhā, the Sṭanikiya kula, the Śrīgṛha saṃbhoga. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!"

N° 53 of LÜDERS' *List* was therefore also made at the insistence of the preacher, the venerable Deva, the śraddhacara of the gaṇi, the venerable Ma(ṃ)guhasti, etc., etc., and it seems to us that there can be no doubt about the identity of those two persons. Consequently there is a great chance that N° 53 of LÜDERS' *List* has up till now likewise been dated much too early, and probably rightly belongs to the year 152 of the Kaniṣka era.

Concerning the palaeographic details, we find in the first place an exceptionally late form of the character *ku* in line 2: *kulāto* [character]. The cedilla is very large here and drawn far to the left, a form closely resembling that of the Gupta period. The superscribed *o* has again the same form as in LÜDERS' *List* N° 54 [character] in line 2: *verāto, śakhato* and *sambhogāto.* The characters *ha* and *la* have sharp lower corners, for example in line 2: *śrīgṛhato, ghastuhastisya*; line 3: *ma(ṃ)guhastisya*; line 4: *lohikākārakasya, hita*: [character] and line 2: *kulāt(o)*; line 4: *lohikākārakasya* [character]. The *ṇa* often has a decidedly round form [character], for example in line 1: *kṣuṇ(e)*; line 3: *gaṇisya*; line 4: *śramanaka.* The anusvāra tends to become a dash for example in line 2: *saṃbhogāto* and line 4: *dānaṃ* and *satvānaṃ.* Finally the *ṛ* is again remarkable in line 2: *gṛhato* [character]. As a whole the script makes a slanting impression, and the box-head is very strongly developed in the characters suitable for it. All the points enumerated therefore, wholly confirm our opinion that in the date

of N° 53 the number for 100 has been omitted, and that it therefore really originates from the year 152.

The following image, N° 55 of LÜDERS' *List,* has already been discussed [43]) and it was proved that the image ought not to be dated in the year 57, but in 157.

N° 57 of LÜDERS' *List* (see fig. 52) is cut into the socle of a standing Jina image, found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The image itself is broken up, and only the feet remain to be seen. They are standing on a dais the base of which is decorated with some arched lines. In 1887 BÜHLER read the inscription as follows [44]):

1. "namo arahaṃtānaṃ, namo siddhāna saṃ 60, 2
2. gra 3 di 5 etāye purvāye rārakasya arya kakasaghastasya
3. śiṣyā ātapiko gahabaryasya nirvartana caturvarnasya saṃghasya
4. yā..dinnā paṭibhā(bho?)ga 1 (?) | (?) vaihikāye datti."

In 1904, LÜDERS [45]) amended *rāraksya* to *vācakasya,* and *gahabaryasya* to *grahabalo tasya.* Finally, in 1909 [46]) RAKHAL DAS BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA changed the reading once more, and he is, as far as we know, the last author who has written about the inscription on this base. According to him it runs as follows:

1. "namo arhaṃtanaṃ namo siddhana(ṃ) saṃ 60 2
2. gṛ 3, di 5, etaye purvaye rārakasya arya kaka maghastisya
3. siṣyā ātapiko gahabayāsya nivartana catuvanisya saṃghasya
4. yathā dinnaṃ paṭibhāgaṃ, aihikāye detti."

He gives the translation as:

"Adoration to the Arhats, adoration to the Siddhas, the year 62, the summer(month) 3, the day 5, on the above date (this has been

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43) See Ch. IV, pp. 254-259.

44) G. BÜHLER, *On the authenticity of the Jaina Traditions, W.Z.K.M.,* vol. I, 1887, pp. 165-180, esp. p. 172.

45) H. LÜDERS, *Epigraphical Notes, N° 19, Mathurā Jaina image Inscription of Saṁ 62, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 33, 1904, p. 105.

46) RAKHAL DAS BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA (= RAKHAL DAS BANERJI), *Mathura Inscriptions in the Indian Museum. J.A.S.B.,* New Series, vol. V, 1909, pp. 237-244, esp. p. 239.

accomplished) at the request of the Ātapika Gahabayā, the female pupil of Ārya Kakamaghasti, a native of Rāra. (For the acceptance of) the community which includes the four classes. What has been given per share is being given for the purposes of this world."

BANERJI's reading is: *maghastisya* instead of *saghastasya*; *detti* instead of *datti,* just as he supplements in line 4 *yā* to *yathā,* while he often reads an *a,* where BÜHLER read *ā.* We fully agree with all this, but personally would prefer to read *rarakasya* instead of *rārakasya.* The photograph and rubbing [47]) clearly show that the two akṣaras for *ra* are exactly the same. It is, however, possible that the engraver made a mistake here, and should really have written *vācakasya,* as LÜDERS will have it, for that is the word which we would expect to find at this place before *arya.* However, the character is clearly no *va.* BANERJI's changing of *śiṣyā* to *siṣyā* must be based upon a misunderstanding, for in fact the first *s* is a *śa* and not a *sa.* BÜHLER read *śiṣyā,* but he did not draw the inference that a female pupil was meant, witness his translation: "at the request of the ātapiko Grahabala, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Kakasaghasta." RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, however, adopted this *ā* and it was in connection with the, in his opinion, feminine *gahabayāsya,* that he translated this passage as: "Gahabayā, the female pupil of the preacher, the venerable Kakasaghasta." However, the rubbing shows *śiṣyo* rather than *siṣyā.* This form also corresponds, grammatically speaking, better with *ātapiko* following it, both nominatives masculine gender. If the sculptor had indeed wished to state that ātapika Gahabaya was a female pupil of the venerable Kaka Maghasti, then he would most certainly have used the word *śiśini.* In twelve inscriptions which we examined, in which female pupils were mentioned, the word *śiśini* was used ten times, or written in a slightly different way [48]). Twice *aṃtevāsikinī* [49]) was used. The frequent use of the word *śiśini* when a

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47) RAKHAL DAS BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, pl. X, III.

48) Namely the numbers of LÜDERS' *List:* 16, 18, 24, 32, 48, 50, 70, 75, 86, and 117.

49) LÜDERS' *List* Nos 38 and 67.

female pupil was indicated, makes it even more probable that really *śiṣyo* and not *siṣyā* has to be read.

We do not dare to say anything very positive about the controversy between BÜHLER, LÜDERS and RAKHAL DAS BANERJI about the fourth character of the word which follows *śiṣyo,* id est *gahaba...* etc.

In 1891 BÜHLER changed his mind and was more inclined to read *la* [50]). Further on in the inscription there are no other *la*'s with which we could compare the character in question. There are several *ya*'s, for example one at the beginning of line 4, which have a much rounder shape than the character in question, while others for example in line 2 are rather more square, but not decidedly as sharp as the akṣara in question, while the space between the three uprights of this character seems to be very unequally divided, in contrast to all the other *ya*'s which occur in this piece, so that there are objections to read the character as *ya,* while on the other hand there is no urgent necessity to read it as *la,* unless it is pointed out that another inscription mentions a certain ātapika Grahabala, which name indeed greatly resembles that in the inscription in question [51]). BÜHLER and LÜDERS have pointed out this conformity and we surmise that this was one of the reasons why they read the disputed character in the inscription in question as *la.* As said RAKHAL DAS BANERJI moreover read an *ā* in the name.

According to us there can, however, be no question of an *ā* in *gahaba..asya* because that vowel is always indicated by a horizontal dash, and preferably at the right-hand corner, while in this case a line clearly runs perpendicularly upwards, which might be a crack in the stone, but certainly is not an *ā,* and at most could be a superscribed *r* and attached *i* or only a mutilated *i.* We are, however, of the opinion that of all possibilities, the whole character concerned might at best be a *la.* The horizontal stroke

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50) G. BÜHLER, *New Excavations in Mathurā, W.Z.K.M.,* vol. V, 1891, pp. 59-63, esp. p. 63. He changes *gahabaryasa* into *grahabalasya.*

51) Namely LÜDERS' *List,* N° 58.

on the left upright of the character which can still be seen on the photograph, is a characteristic of the *la*. The too long lower line at the right-hand corner might be accounted for by a slip of the hand of the sculptor.

It is evident that especially the last part of the inscription strongly deviates from what one generally finds in these votive inscriptions. If we compare the text of this one with other inscriptions of almost the same year, namely, of the years 60, 74 and 80 of the Kaniṣka era, the difference is striking. The invocation to the Arhats we will leave out of consideration, for we meet with that in other inscriptions also. The remarkable thing about this inscription, however, is that in the transcriptions of LÜDERS, BÜHLER and BANERJI the name of the donor is apparently not mentioned. The customary sequence in a votive inscription is as follows: in the specimina of the Kaniṣka dynasty, first the name of the reigning king is mentioned in the genitive, then the year of the Kaniṣka era, the month, and the day; after that, mostly *etāye purvvāye* (or a somewhat similar form), sometimes also *etasmin kṣuṇe* (or a similar form). Then the person is named at whose instigation the dedication of the image was brought about, whereby his or her teacher (male or female) is explicitly stated. Sometimes also the guru of that religious instructor is again mentioned, once in a while also the one of that teacher, so that a whole hierarchy of religious teachers is communicated to us and at the same time we learn to which gaṇa, kula, saṃbhoga and śākhā they belong. After this explanation comes the name of the donor in genitive, then follows the description of the gift followed by *dānam* or *deti*, id est "this is the gift of ......" A difficulty in translating these inscriptions is formed by the fact that attributes are not put in the same case as the word to which they belong.

In view of the just mentioned sequence we would like to read and translate with all reserve the inscription as follows:

1. "namo arahaṃtanaṃ namo siddhana(ṃ) saṃ 60 2
2. gra 3 di 5 etaye purvaye rarakasya arya kakama(ṃ)ghastisya
3. śiṣyo ātapiko gahabalasya ni(r)vartana catuvanisya saṃghasya
4. yathādinna paṭibhāga—vaihi(k)āye detti—."

Translated:

"Adoration to the Arhats, adoration to the Siddhas. In the year 62, the 3rd (month of) summer, on the 5th day, on this occasion as specified, a gift of honour [52]) has been given to the fourfold community by Vaihi(k)ā [53]) at the request of the ātapika Gahabala, the pupil (of the preacher?), the venerable Kaka Ma(ṃ)ghasti in the same way as it has been given [54]) at (a) former occasion(s)."

It is palaeographically remarkable that the characters in general have a much later form than those in the already mentioned inscriptions of the years 60, 74 and 80. The anusvāra, for instance, in line 1, appears twice as a horizontal dash instead of a dot. The socle, therefore, apparently does not date from 62, but from 162. In our opinion, the character *ma* is decisive. The photograph in our possession, as well as the rubbing in the article by RAKHAL DAS BANDYOPĀDHYĀYA show this character clearly in three places, twice in line 1: *namo,* and once in line 2: *ma(ṃ)ghastisya.* LÜDERS, however, reads *saghasta* here, but the disputed character seems to us to be more like a *ma* than a *sa.* In the first two cases the akṣara looks like 𑀫𑁄, so that the single *ma* is 𑀫. The third time *ma* takes the form 𑀫, just as in several Gupta inscriptions in which the bend has disappeared from the left upright.

According to BÜHLER [55]) these two forms which greatly resemble each other do not appear in inscriptions dating from the years 70 A.D. to 250 A.D. This is speaking rather broadly, for as we shall see later on, the *ma* appears already earlier in this later form [56]) namely from about 190 A.D., so that we conclude that the piece dates from the time between the Kuṣāṇas and the

52) *paṭibhāga* = *pratibhāga* in Sanskrit, comp. KULLŪKA in his commentary on *Manu* 8, 307 = phalakusumaśākatṛṇādyupāyanaṃ pratidinagrāhyam (so the daily gifts of honour of fruits etc. to the king). We owe this to Professor GONDA.

53) Compare *grahapalāye* on p. 295.

54) For instance in a vow; *yathādinna* = *yathādatta* in Sanskrit (for example in the *Rāmāyaṇa*) comp: *yathākhyāta* = as told in olden times; *yathāgata* = as people used to go in former times.

55) G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie,* Table III.

56) See Ch. VI, pp. 315-317.

Guptas, and judging by the form of the *ma* from after 190 A.D. or, if we put the year of the date in the terms of the Kaniṣka era, then from the year 162 = 240 A.D.

This time we have been able to come to a decision based solely on palaeographic grounds, and without having seen the image. We can imagine for ourselves, in a way, what this image looked like originally. It probably was a naked standing Jina, just like those of the years 105 and 115 which we have already discussed, only in a somewhat further developed form. That this image on the other hand did not originate from the time of the Gupta period is proved by the remarkable shape of the raised pedestal with the strange arched lines which we have not yet met with in like form in Gupta art.

There is, however, a similar socle in Kuṣāṇa art, dated in the year 9 [57]), published by RAKHAL DAS BANERJI [58]) (see fig. 64). This also represents a naked standing Jina. At the right of the principal figure two small male adorants are standing, back to back, and at the left stands a female adorant. On either side of the sculpture is a slender column with a capital. The back of the piece represents a tall tree with leaves, branches and clusters of flowers. At the right of the tree stands the figure of a small woman with a garland of flowers in her right hand, while a little child stands before her.

The inscription on the pedestal is as follows:

1. "siddhaṃ saṃ 9 he 3 di 10 | graham(i)trasya dhitu sukhāśirisya [59]) vadhu ekaḍalasya
2. koḷiyāto ganāto | (a)rya taraka(s)ya | kuṭu(ṃ)biniye
3. ṭhaniyato kulāto vair(ā)to (śākha)to | (ni)va(r)tanā | grahapalāye dati."

There is a very short inscription of two lines between the feet of the figure running: 1. "Arya praghā- 2. masya śiśini", id est, "the female pupil of the venerable Praghāma", which according to

57) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 22a.

58) RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, *New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, 1909-'10, pp. 106-121, esp. pp. 109-110, N° III.

59) The first two akṣaras might also be read as *ava*.

BANERJI (who moreover reads *Aghamasya*), concerns the donor of the sculpture. We cannot agree with this. In these inscriptions "pupil of so and so" is a very frequent addition to the name of the male or female preacher, at whose instigation the image was made, so that probably this is the case in this instance as well.

After contemplation of this inscription, we noticed the strange sequence of the words. On the reproduction of this image in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, opposite page 109, we see that the inscription is cut on the front and on the left side. In our opinion we obtain a significant and logical sequence of the words when we first take that part of the inscription written on the side of the image, then proceed to the front, taking first the two lines between the feet, then the left "lotus-petal", after which the right-hand part of the top line and finally the right-hand "lotus-petal". For the sake of clarity we have put a vertical line between the diverse parts of the transcription on p. 295. The inscription, read in the above-mentioned sequence then, is as follows:

"siddhaṃ saṃ 9 he 3 di 10 koḷiyāto ganāto ṭhaniyato kulāto vair(ā)to (śākha)to arya praghāmasya śiśini (a)rya taraka-(s)ya (ni)va(r)tanā graham(i)trasya dhitu sukhāśirisya vadhu ekaḍalasya kuṭu(ṃ)biniye grahapalāye dati."

The translation of the inscription in this sequence is:

"Success! In the year 9, the 3rd (month) of winter, on the 10th day; the gift of Grahapalā, wife of Ekaḍala, daughter-in-law of Sukhāśiri and daughter of Graham(i)tra, at the request of the venerable Taraka, the female pupil of the venerable Praghāma of the Koḷiya gaṇa, the Ṭhaniya kula, the Vaira śākhā."

According to the inscription the piece is dated in the year 9, and as RAKHAL DAS BANERJI even says: "... in the year 9 of the Kushaṇa era and must probably be referred to the reign of the emperor Kaṇishka." [60]) We regret that we cannot agree with this. The inscription at first sight makes the impression of being of a later date. The characters have been very carelessly cut out, which

60) RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, *New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Scythian Period*, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, 1909-'10, pp. 109-110.

cannot be due to the wearing away of the stone. The ligature *sya* is too late for the year 9 of Kaniṣka: in line 1: *sukhāśirasya* and *ekaḍalasya* one can clearly see that the right-hand stroke of the *ya* continues rather far upwards. The *ya* has in all cases a small loop, e.g. in line 2: *koḷiyāto* and *kuṭu(ṃ)biniye*; line 3: *ṭhaniyato* and *grahapalāye* . The *s* in the ligature *sya* in line 1: *graham(i)trasya* and *ekaḍalasya* seems to show a small loop in the left lower corner . The character *ku* in line 3: *kulāto* shows the typical late form which we are accustomed to find during the Post-Kuṣāṇa period . Finally it may be mentioned that the box-head in the characters suitable to it is greatly accentuated, and every now and then takes the shape of a large nail-head. A conclusive proof for the impression that the inscription is late is the form of the letter *ma* in line 2 between the feet . This form of *ma* in our opinion positively does not occur in the year 9 of the Kaniṣka era, but is more likely to be, just as in the inscriptions which have been discussed, the prototype of the letter *ma* in the Gupta time. We therefore consider ourselves justified in dating the image in the year 109 of the Kaniṣka era.

As the two images with pedestals on which arched lines or curves have been cut, are not so distant in time from each other, namely 109 and 162, such a decoration of the pedestals was apparently not uncommon in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period, so that it would be rash to ascribe LÜDERS' *List* N° 57 to the Gupta period. There are too many iconographic, palaeographic, epigraphic and stylistic conformities with the images and inscriptions of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period.

One might ask why we have dwelt at such length on the inscription N° 57 of LÜDERS' *List.* The reason for this is the forementioned fact that LÜDERS believed that in this inscription and also in N° 58 the same person is mentioned, namely the ātapika Grahabala, pupil of the preacher Arya Kakama(ṃ)ghasti, which last could be the same as the preacher Arya Kakuhastha(or i?), who is mentioned in the inscription N° 58 of LÜDERS' *List.*

The inscription [61]) N° 58 of LÜDERS' *List,* inscribed on the pedestal of a seated Jina figure, discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, runs:

1. "siddha(ṃ) sa 60 2 va 2 di 5 etasya puvaya vācakasya āyakakuhastha(or i?)s(y)a
2. vāraṇagaṇiyasa śiṣ(y)o grahabalo ātapiko tasa nivartanā..."

Translated:

"Success! In the year 62 the 2nd (month of) the rainy season, on the 5th day, on this occasion as specified at the request of the ātapika Grahabala the pupil of the preacher the venerable Kakuhastha(i?) of the Vāraṇa gaṇa....."

If it is correct that, as LÜDERS believes, in the inscriptions N° 57 and N° 58, one and the same person is mentioned, then the conclusion is justified that both pieces date from about the same time, and seeing that we could make it acceptable on various grounds that N° 57 dates from the year 162, then N° 58 must belong to the same year. On reading the names in this last inscription that of ātapika Grahabala is very distinct. The name of his teacher, which LÜDERS reads as Karkuhastha, can according to us be read just as well as Kakuhastha(or i?), as the characters are very near to the upper edge of the inscription. Consequently the *r,* written above the letter *ka* is very indistinct and perhaps never was there at all, as might also be the case with the *i* above the ligature *stha.* Although the names in both mentioned inscriptions, even when we read in N° 58, *kakuhastisya,* are not quite the same, they still show a very strong conformity. In both cases a person is spoken of whose name begins with Grahaba... or Gahaba... (which is the same in Sanskrit and Prakrit). Both persons bear the epitheton ātapika, which in other inscriptions of this kind, as far as we have been able to trace, is never used. Both are pupils of a person whose name begins with Kaka or Kaku, and ends in hasti or hasthi, which deviations appear regularly in these inscriptions.

Further, the dates of both inscriptions are not so far distant from each other, so that it is quite possible that one and the same person is mentioned in both inscriptions. Noting, moreover, that

61) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 19.

in the inscription we meet with the *ku* in *kakuhastha*(or *i*?)*s*(*y*)*a* in a form which was used only after the year 115 of the Kaniṣka era, with the *ṇa* in a distinctly round form in *varaṇagaṇiyasa* and finally with the accentuated box-head, it appears very likely to us that the piece dates from the year 162 of the Kaniṣka era. The fact that the persons mentioned in N^os^ 57 and 58 are moreover one and the same, is not used as a decisive factor as the above mentioned palaeographic arguments are sufficient proof in themselves.

After this ample discussion of N^os^ 57 and 58 of LÜDERS' *List* follows N° 71 as a very interesting piece from a palaeographical point of view. It is a Jina image found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The date was formerly read as 87 by BÜHLER [62]) but he was not quite certain about this. We regret we have no reproduction of this image at our disposal, though we presume that the piece might give the impression as belonging to Gupta art. But why?

The inscription runs:

"(Saṃ 80)9 gṛ 1 di (20?) a(smi) kṣuṇe uccenāgarasyāryya kumāranandiśiṣyasya mittrasya...."

Translated:

"In the year (89?) in the 1st (month of) summer, on the 20th(?) day, at this moment, (at the request?) of Mittra, the pupil of the venerable Kumāranandi, of the Uccenagara (śākhā?)......"

Concerning the writing: all the characters have a very definite box-head, which has taken on the form of a nail-head, which is even now and again three-cornered. Various characters display peculiarities which we also meet with in Gupta script. Firstly, the character *ku* in the word *kumāranandi*. The subjoined *u* is a very large curl under the character, and the *ka* has a strongly bent cross-bar. Further the character *gṛ*, in which the sub-joined *ṛ* is a cedilla, as in Gupta writing, and in the Nāgarī script of to-day. Then the *ṇa* in *kṣuṇe* has a decidedly round form.

62) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 13.

It is possible that the *ma* in *kumāranandi* already shows the later form , but that is indistinct, and it could also be the older form . Finally, the *u* in *uccenāgara* is very late, and this character alone would already be decisive. All in all we therefore have perhaps arguments to surmise that the inscription N° 71 of LÜDERS' *List* might date from the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era instead of from the 1st, as BÜHLER thought.

In completion we shall now mention in short several numbers from LÜDERS' *List,* which, although not dated, can be ascribed to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period on account either of the form of the characters or of the contents.

First of all comes N° 84 [63]), which on account of the very late form of the character *ṇa* must be put in this category.

Then follows N° 113 [64]). Here the form of the character *ku* points to a time after the year 120 of the Kaniṣka era .

N° 118 [65]) also belongs to a later period, witness again the slanting form of the character *ku,* which displays a still more sloping phase of development .

N° 119 mentions Aryya Sandhi [66]), pupil of Aryya Balattrata, who is also mentioned in LÜDERS' *List* N° 32. We are convinced that this last piece [67]) dates from the year 125 of the Kaniṣka era, and therefore N° 119 must also belong to that time. Perhaps we can define the date even more accurately, for in N° 32 a pupil of Aryya Sandhi is mentioned and we are therefore probably in a somewhat later time than that to which N° 119 belongs, so that N° 119 of LÜDERS' *List* perhaps was made before the year 125. Apart from the conformity to N° 32 the palaeography of N° 119 also points to a date after the year 100 of the Kaniṣka era, to mention only

63) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 1, 1892, N° 15.
64) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 1, 1892, N° 23.
65) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 33.
66) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 2, 1894, N° 34.
67) See pp. 274-276.

the form in line 3 of the *na* and that of *tu* and *u* in line 1.

N° 121 [68]) and the next N° 122 [69]), which is again a "pratimā sarvvatobhadrikā", also belong to the Post-Kuṣāṇa time. Both make mention of Aryya Mihila, a pupil of Aryya Jeṣṭahasti, who is also spoken of in LÜDERS' *List* N° 20 [70]). We have, we think, convincingly proved that this last mentioned inscription dates from the year 105, so that we can accept the statement that N^{os} 121 and 122 both date from about that time. The palaeography of both inscriptions points to this, even judging only by the form of the characters *u*, *ku* and *sa* in several ligatures in N° 122.

The inscription N° 123 of LÜDERS' *List* runs [71]): "Siddha(ṃ) vācakasya dattaśiṣyasya sīhasya ni(vartanā?)" i.e. "Success! at the request of the preacher Sīha, the pupil of Datta". This inscription mentions the same person as LÜDERS' *List* N° 29, namely Sīha, pupil of Datta [72]). We have made it acceptable that this last inscription dates from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period, and so we conclude that N° 123 of LÜDERS' *List* belongs to the same time, and presumably about the year 150 of the Kaniṣka era. The sloping script fits in very well with this date. Finally the form of the lions (see textfig. 24 on p. 248) closely resembles that which we meet with in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period.

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68) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, 1892, N° 14.
69) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, 1894, N° 37.
70) See Ch. IV, pp. 244-246.
71) Rubbing in F. S. GROWSE, *Mathurā Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, 1877, pp. 216-219, esp. p. 219, pl. II, fig. 8, or *Mathurā, A District Memoir*, 2nd ed., North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1880, pl. opposite p. 108.
72) See Ch. IV, pp. 246-249.

CHAPTER SIX

THE HISTORY OF THE POST-KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

We have so far enumerated inscriptions from LÜDERS' *List* of which we were able to make plausible that they date from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period, although we do not deny, that there may be specimens which have escaped our attention. Now we will discuss one more inscription which we will attempt to prove as belonging to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period.

In 1927 a fragment of an image with inscription on the base was discovered at Mathurā (see fig. 67). The inscription was published by DAYA RAM SAHNI [1]). According to this scholar, the script is that of the Kuṣāṇa period. He probably bases this statement more on the contents of the inscription than on the form of the script itself, for on the base we read the following inscription:

1. mahārājadevaputrasya kaṇiṣkasya saṃvatsare 10 4 pauṣamāsa-divase 10 asmiṃ divase pra(or ā)varika-hasth(is)ya
2. bha(or ā)ryyā saṃghilā bhagavato pitāmahasya saṃmyasaṃbuddhasya svamatasya devasya pūjārtthaṃ pratima(or ā)m pratiṣṭhā-
3. payati sarvva-dukkha-prahāṇārtthaṃ.

Translated:

"On the 10th day of the month Pauṣa in the year 14 of the Mahārāja-Devaputra Kaṇiṣka, on this day, Saṃghilā, the wife of Pra(or ā?)varika Hasth(i?) installs (this) image for the veneration of her favourite deity, the Bhagavat, the Pitāmaha [2]) (i.e. Gautama Buddha), for the cessation of all misery."

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1) DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the Kushana year 14, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 19, 1927-'28, pp. 96-97.

2) In his editions of two inscriptions in which this word occurs N. G. MAJUMDAR leaves this word untranslated, *Nālandā Inscription of Vipulasrimita,*

So for DAYA RAM SAHNI it was a fact that the piece dated from the reign of Emperor Kaniṣka; with his own words: "The present inscription is clearly dated in the year 14 of that King." [3]) However, as we will see further on, the writing does not at all show the form of the Kuṣāṇa period. Surely also DAYA RAM SAHNI found it striking that the characters *ma, ha* and *ṃ* showed a deviating form, but he did not draw the necessary conclusion from this, checked as he was by his firm belief in the date mentioned in the inscription. After what has been discussed in the preceding Chapters, it is now obvious to ascribe the inscription in question to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period instead of to the Kuṣāṇa period, so that the piece rightly dates from the year 114 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. 192 A.D.

The fact that the date is explicitly indicated as: "Mahārāja-devaputrasya Kaṇiṣkasya" forms a difficulty. The form of the characters, however, makes it altogether impossible to ascribe the piece to the reign of Kaniṣka. Two explanations could be suggested for the said peculiarity:

Firstly, it is not unthinkable that, in the meantime, it was so long ago since Kaniṣka lived that it was considered necessary to mention his name explicitly as the founder of the era. In that case we should have to translate the text as follows: "In the 14th year of the Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka", i.e. the 14th year of the era of (i.e. instituted by) Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka. However, we do not know of any other inscription which ought to be understood in this way [4]). It is true that in later times a clause is often

Ep. Ind., vol. 21, 1931-'32, pp. 97-101 and *Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Maharaja Vaisravana of the Year 107, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 24, 1937, pp. 146-148. In note 4 on p. 148 of this last article MAJUMDAR says that the characters in the inscription of the year 14 show Gupta forms.

3) DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the Kushana year 14, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 19, 1927-'28, p. 97.

4) Unless we assume that the Ārā inscription is not issued by a Kaniṣka II, but only indicates that it was issued in the 41st year of the era of Kaniṣka I. But in that case it is not clear how we must explain the word *Vajheṣka-putrasa*. GHIRSHMAN thinks on ground of the names mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Kaniṣka I's father was called Vāsiṣka and his grandfather Huviṣka. This father of Kaniṣka I would, according to him, have been mentioned in the Ārā inscription.

added to the date in order to distinguish the era from other eras which were customary in India at the same time, e.g.: "śakanṛpakālātītasaṃvacchara" [5]) or "śakanṛpatirājyābhiṣekasaṃvvatsareṣvatikrānteṣu" [6]). The early Tai inscriptions also add a distinction of this kind, viz. "in the era of Mahasakaray" [7]).

A later belief has it that the Śaka era marked the end of the Śaka mastery; we meet with this idea from BRAHMAGUPTA (628 A.D.) onwards, and BOYER explains it by assuming that the tradition never died out among the people about the destruction of the Śakas by Śālavāhana, which resulted in its being coupled in the long run with the institution of the Śaka era [8]). In our opinion, however, the mistake can better be explained as an erroneous ascribing of the origin of the institution of the Vikrama era to that of the Śaka era. We know, namely, that the origin of the Vikrama era was due to the fact that the years were counted onwards from the defeat of the Śakas [9]). JAYASWAL thinks that the tradition is correct and that the year 78 A.D. was at the same time the beginning of the Śaka era and also the year of the second defeat of the Śakas in Western India at the hands of Śālavāhana who was in fact a descendant of the first victor of the Śakas: Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi [10]).

But firstly, there is not one scrap of evidence that two Vāsiṣkas and two Huviṣkas existed, and secondly there is no reason to suppose that the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* would mention two otherwise quite unknown petty vassals of the Kadphises kings and omit the great Kuṣāṇa monarchs Vāsiṣka and Huviṣka, Kaniṣka's successors. GHIRSHMAN's solution for the Ārā inscription, therefore, though quite ingenious, cannot be accepted until more convincing evidence can be brought foreward; R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* p. 141.

5) N° 1078 seq. in *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India* by D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.,* vols. 19-20, 1927-'28, 1929-'30, Appendix p. 145.

6) N° 3 in the *List of Inscriptions of Southern India,* by F. KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.,* vol. 7, 1902-'03, Appendix p. 2.

7) See a letter of R. LE MAY in *The Burlington Magazine,* vol. 86, May 1945, pp. 128-129.

8) A. M. BOYER, *Nahapāna et l'ère Çaka, J.A.,* 9e série, tome X, 1897, pp. 120-151, esp. pp. 146-151.

9) See Ch. VII, pp. 385 seq.

10) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.,* vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 227-316, esp. pp. 295-300.

But to return to our subject, it is not very probable that a century after the reign of Kaniṣka, the memory of this monarch would have faded away already, so that it was considered necessary to mention his name explicitly in addition. For we know that far later sources still know his name and in addition tell us that he has done so much for Buddhism [11]. The Chinese pilgrims in their itineraries [12], and AL-BĪRŪNĪ [13] also speak of the greatness of Kaniṣka and his religious zeal, and it is clear that they heard various details in Gandhāra itself, so that we must take it that in some circles Kaniṣka was still known to the population of North-West India until the early Middle-ages.

The second explanation for mentioning Kaniṣka's name in the above mentioned inscription is, that, apart from the well-known monarch Kaniṣka the founder of the Kaniṣka era, another king of that name existed. That this is not at all impossible, appears from the Ārā inscription of the year 41, in which also a King Kaniṣka [14] is mentioned, who cannot possibly be the same as the great Kaniṣka, because he is clearly distinguished from the last-named by the addition "Vajheṣka-putrasa" [15], i.e. son of Vāsiṣka [16], so that this

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11) KALHAṆA, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, book I, verses 168-170; M. A. STEIN, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, Westminster 1900, pp. 30-31; RANJIT SITARAM PANDIT, *Rājaṭarañgiṇī* (sic!), *The Saga of the Kings of Kaśmīr*. Allahabad 1935, p. 23.

12) H. A. GILES, *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Retranslated, Cambridge 1923, p. 13; S. BEAL, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London 1906, vol. I, passim.

13) E. C. SACHAU, *Alberuni's India*, English edition, London 1910, vol. II, pp. 11-13.

14) H. LÜDERS, *Epigraphische Beiträge, II: Die Inschrift von Ara, S.B.A.W.*, 1912, Band II, pp. 824-831. And the same translated in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 42, 1913, pp. 132-137.

15) The version in the Ārā inscription of this word, which FLEET doubted in *The Question of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 95-107, esp. pp. 98 seq., as well as the incorrectness of FLEET's supposition that Vajheṣka should not be Vāsiṣka, seems to us to be satisfactorily proved by KONOW, *Corpus*, pp. LXXX-LXXXI and *Name and Designations of the Ruler mentioned in the Āra inscription, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, New Series, vol. I, Bombay 1925, pp. 1-12 and *The Ara Inscription of Kanishka II: the Year 41, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 14, 1917-'18, pp. 130-143.

16) A similar addition of the name of the father never occurs with the names

Kaniṣka II presumably was a grandson of Kaniṣka I [17]). The possibility that this Kaniṣka II of the Arā inscription was the same person as the Kaniṣka spoken of in the inscription in question from the Post-Kuṣāṇa period is quite unacceptable because of the mentioning of his father Vāsiṣka, who reigned from 24-28 of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. 102-106 A.D. [18]). So if we would suggest the possibility of a monarch Kaniṣka, unknown up till now, we would have to take it that in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period a Kaniṣka III existed. By itself this is not a sensational fact, as it is a frequently occurring phenomenon that later generations like to bear the name of the famous progenitor of their dynasty.

Given the choice between these two possibilities, the latter seems to us by far the most acceptable, as also the available numismatic material points to the existence of a Kaniṣka III. In an article of 1936 BACHHOFER has made a very clear distinction between coins of a Kaniṣka III and a Vāsudeva I and II [19]). Prior to him RAKHAL DAS BANERJI [20]) had already distinguished coins of the same monarchs, plus a Vāsu or Vāsudeva III [21]). This seems

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of other Kuṣāṇa monarchs, and it is clearly given here in order to distinguish Kaniṣka II from another ruler of the same name, i.e. Kaniṣka I.

17) We leave out of consideration here what the family-relationship was between this Kaniṣka II and Huviṣka.

18) Unless we should assume, which is very improbable, that at the beginning of the 2nd Kaniṣka century another Vāsiṣka has reigned, whose son was then Kaniṣka II; we should have to assume then, that the Ārā inscription dated from the year 141 of the Śaka era, and that consequently also in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the Kaniṣka era was maintained after the year 99, which, as we have seen, is very improbable as in North-West India the old era came again into use. Moreover, there are as yet no indications as to the existence of a Vāsiṣka II, neither in the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era nor as a father of Kaniṣka I, as GHIRSHMAN suggests, *Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. 141.

19) L. BACHHOFER, *Herrscher und Münzen der späten Kushānas*, *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 56, 1936, pp. 429-439.

20) R. D. BANERJI, *Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage*, *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, vol. IV, 1908, pp. 81-93.

21) BANERJI still called Kaniṣka III Kaniṣka II, because of the fact that he took the Kaniṣka of the Ārā inscription to be the same as Kaniṣka I, see *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37, 1908, pp. 25-75, esp. pp. 58-59.

to have escaped BACHHOFER's attention (whose merit it is to have indicated a clear development in the coins), at least he does not mention BANERJI's article. VINCENT SMITH [22]), WHITEHEAD [23]) and CUNNINGHAM [24]), however, are also of the opinion that more monarchs with the name of Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva existed [25]). The belief in the existence of a Kaniṣka III and a Vāsudeva II is, therefore, certainly nothing new and this idea has also been alive in numismatic circles. The said inscription now once more underlines this idea.

This fact, viz. that the Kuṣāṇa dynasty of Kaniṣka went on after Vāsudeva I is an extra argument in favour of our hypothesis, that the dynasty continued to use the Kaniṣka era [26]), be it with the omission of the number for 100.

Scrutinizing the fragment of the image more carefully, there are two classes of peculiarities to which we must draw attention, the epigraphical and the style-critical.

To begin with the style-critical peculiarities: the image of which now only feet and ankles are left, must have been a standing Buddha figure, judging by what is left of the image and the contents of the inscription. Moreover, we can take it as almost certain that it was a Buddha image wearing a robe over both shoulders, for we have seen that this image presumably dates from the year 114 of the Kaniṣka era and we know that long before then the Buddha image with both shoulders covered had gained predominance over the Buddha image with only one shoulder covered.

The very few early standing Buddha figures we know of, which have both shoulders covered, all belong to the full Kuṣāṇa period,

22) VINCENT SMITH, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, Oxford 1906, pp. 87-88.

23) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum. Lahore*, vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford 1914, pp. 211-212.

24) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Later Indo-Scythians*, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 93-128, 166-202, and 1894, pp. 242-293, esp. p. 176.

25) Vāsudeva seems to have been a very popular name for Tocharian kings, for even in the 7th century A.D. a monarch of that name is mentioned in Eastern Turkestan, see S. KONOW, *Ein neuer Saka-Dialect*, *S.B.A.W.*, 1935, Phil.-hist. Klasse, pp. 772-823, esp. p. 803.

26) See also p. 317 for a quotation of THOMAS, who is of the same opinion.

e.g. the image reproduced in fig. 36, a relief in the collection Nieuwenkamp [27]), and some other reliefs [28]). Besides, up till now we do not know a single standing Buddha among the reproductions of Buddha images of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. It is possible that this is merely accidental, but it could just as well have been caused by a possible greater preference for the seated image. Lastly we know of many Buddha images in standing attitude belonging to the Gupta period. All this makes it very difficult to draw a comparison between the style of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period and the fragment under discussion, which—also because of its mutilation—does not give sufficient evidence.

To the right and left of the Buddha of the year 14, figures are standing, which, had they remained undamaged, would have reached no farther than half-way to the knee of the figure in the centre. The costume might raise the question, whether they are small Buddha images or not, but laymen also wear the robe gathered up in this way by the left hand on the left hip [29]). Moreover, the time when small Buddhas or Bodhisattvas are placed beside the main image is still very far off [30]). It therefore seems more probable to us that two adorants have been meant here, possibly the pious donor of the image together with her husband. Decisive for this opinion is finally the fact that we think we can distinguish the lower end of a wreath of flowers carried by the figure on the right, seemingly the right leg of the figure. The

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27) Reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. LII, c. NIEUWENKAMP thinks the relief represents the scene in which the Buddha exchanges his princely garment with a hunter, *Een bouwfragment uit Centraal-Indië, Ned.-Indië Oud en Nieuw*, vol. VIII, 1923-24, pp. 359-361, fig. 2. In VOGEL's and our opinion this is impossible as the Buddha already wears a monk's robe We should like to suggest another interpretation of the relief, namely the scene in which the Buddha meets the grass-cutter, who offers him a bunch of grass for his seat under the Bodhi-tree. The resemblance of the relief under discussion to a relief from the stūpa of Sikrī representing the same event is striking. A. FOUCHER, *Les Bas-Reliefs du Stūpa de Sikri (Gandhāra). J.A.*, 10e série, tome II, pp. 185-330, esp. pl. VII (see our fig. 4).

28) For instance J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XX, a.

29) See our remark, Ch. III on p. 153, note 32.

30) Namely in Pāla and Sena art.

pleating of the robe suddenly ends there, and then a tubular object with oblique scratches is clearly to be seen, which, after having been bound together at the lower end, shows a tassel. This tubular object at first sight gives the impression of a spindle-leg showing through the garment. On comparison with other reliefs this object —both with regard to the scratches and the tassel—entirely corresponds with the wreaths of flowers, represented more than once, which adorants hold in their hands when standing near a venerable person or an object to be worshipped. Often gracefully represented in early Kuṣāṇa art [31]) (see fig. 66), these wreaths of flowers mostly become stiff rolls [32]) in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period (see figs. 60 and 63).

Having noticed this, we think it is very probable that the secondary figure to the right is an adorant and not a Buddha or Bodhisattva. On closer examination the secondary figure to the left also seems to have a wreath of flowers pressed against his right side and so we can conclude that there was an adorant on either side of the Buddha.

In the Kuṣāṇa period the donors or adorants of *seated* images are almost always represented on the front of the pedestal. As just mentioned, we have few examples of *standing* images of the new type: the base of the Buddha reproduced in fig. 36 has been lost; a pedestal-fragment from the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era [33]) does not necessarily belong to the new type of Buddha image, so that it is not a reliable object for comparison. At our left a male adorant is kneeling with an offering of flowers in his hands, at our right stood another figure, judging by a pair of feet. Of the kapardin type we have more specimens of standing images [34]) for

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31) E.g. the image-fragment, reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-'10, pl. XXIV, c.

32) E.g. the relief of Sītalā Ghāṭī, found by RADHA KRISHNA and now in the possession of Messrs. YAMANAKA at New York, reproduced in *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 87, in which, however, the row of adorants is not visible. Complete photograph in the collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, N° 12.

33) LÜDERS' *List* N° 52, discussed in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, p. 113, photograph in the collection Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, N° 39.

34) Reproductions in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXVIII, a

comparison of the pedestals. Almost none of them show venerating lay-men on the base, only the Buddha in the Curzon Museum at Muttra [35]) clearly shows small kneeling adorants on both sides. Upright Jainistic images of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period often have a little adorant on either side of the large image, mostly standing on a lower level. This arrangement of lay-men on either side of the large Buddha figure therefore seems to have occurred now and again in the Kuṣāṇa period; in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period it is found more frequently and of the Gupta period we have a rather large number of images showing small figures of adorants, often kneeling in worship at the left and right of the much larger figure in the centre [36]).

Returning to the piece in discussion, our attention is drawn to the fact that the ankles of the Buddha in the centre are strikingly thick, and that the right leg just above the ankle swells very quickly. On comparing these not very elegant ankles and legs with those of the standing figures of the kapardin type, we see that these figures do not show finely shaped ankles either, but that the legs only very slowly swell above the ankles. We would like to find an explanation for this difference in the fact, that the hem of the robe probably hangs lower on the image under discussion than

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and b; V. S. AGRAWALA, *A new inscribed image of Kasyapa Buddha from Mathura, J.U.P.H.S.*, vol. X, 1937, pp. 35-38, pl. I; V. S. AGRAWALA, *New Sculptures from Mathura, J.U.P.H.S.*, vol. XI, part II, 1938, pp. 66-76, pl. I; T. BLOCH, *Two Inscriptions on Buddhist Images, A. Set-Mahet Image Inscription of the Time of Kanishka or Huvishka, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 8, 1905-'06, pp. 179-182, esp. pl. 1. KUNJA GOBINDA GOSWAMI, *Kosam Inscription of (the reign of) Kanishka: the Year 2, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 24, pp. 210-212, and plate. An image in the Allahābād Museum, reproduced in *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1934*, vol. IX, Leyden 1936, pl. II, c. Further images in the photograph collection of the Kern Institute, portfolio Mathurā, N° 54, Mathurā Museum, Off. Dir. Gen. Arch. 1909-'10, N° 166, *Cat.* p. 332, N° 630; and portfolio Mathurā N° 55, Śrāvastī, Indian Museum, N° S.I.B. The other standing images of this type which we know have lost their pedestals.

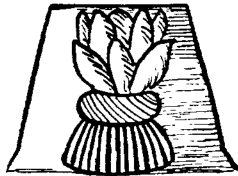
35) See V. A. SMITH, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, fig. 94, 2nd ed., pl. 20, c. We had an opportunity for examining this image closely at the Exhibition of Art from India and Pakistān in Burlington House, 1948. The fig. in SMITH does not show the adorants so clearly.

36) E.g. the Buddhas found at Jamālpur Mound, reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXIX, XXXI, b and XXXII.

it does on the other group of images, so that consequently it would have seemed that the image had spindle-legs, had not the sculptor exaggerated the swelling of the visible part of the legs before they disappeared under the robe. When the hem of the robe was lowered, the thickest part of the calf was also moved downwards, which gave the not very elegant effect, now shown by the image of the year 14 of "Mahārāja Devaputra Kaṇiṣka".

We find a parallel for the observed peculiarities—for lack of material for comparison of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period—in two images from the early Gupta period, namely the colossal Buddha image at Lucknow [37]) and an image originating from Kaṭrā, at present in the Lucknow Museum [38]). Both of them show the thick ankles with the immediately strong swelling legs beneath the hem which hangs very low down.

Another point we must notice is the object between the feet of the central figure. Although unfortunately this part of the fragment has been very much damaged, it seems to us that it is a bunch of lotus-buds, as is found on the bases of various Buddha images. Almost all images of the kapardin type show something between the feet; sometimes a small lion, often a cluster of lotus-flowers. In some images this lotus-vegetation takes a peculiar form (see textfig. 27) and it is possible that a rolled-up garland



Textfig. 27. Flower-garland between the feet of Buddha images

has been meant, as seen in two reliefs from the Kuṣāṇa period [39]). These wreaths mostly end in a cluster at the top. Be that as it may, the object between the feet of the central figure in the fragment in

37) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXIX.

38) Ibidem, pl. XXXI, a.

39) Ibidem, pl. XVI, c; J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, *Two Notes on Mathurā Sculpture. 1. The squatting Yakṣas at Mathurā, India Antiqua,* Leyden 1947, pp.231-235, pl. XVII, d.

question, in our opinion, seems to resemble such a rolled-up offering of flowers, from which the lower part (see textfig. 28) has been broken away. Up to the present we do not know of any standing Buddha image of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period, so that from that period we have no available material for comparison. From the golden age of the Guptas, we have many Buddha images, but lotus-flowers are hardly ever found between the feet of the Master. There is only one Buddha image that, dating according to some scholars from the Gupta period, shows this quality,



Textfig. 28. Lower part of the flower-garland broken away in fig. 67

namely the huge image at Lucknow, having a very small Maitreya image between the feet of the Master, placed against a background of lotus-flowers [40]). On several grounds it can be accepted for certain that this Buddha image can be dated in the very first period of Gupta art, or possibly some time before that, according to VOGEL even in the 3rd century A.D. [41]). So we must conclude that most probably the element of lotus-flowers between the feet was in vogue since the oldest Buddha images of the Pre-Kuṣāṇa times until the early Gupta period.

After considering these various details, we have to conclude that several style-critical points of the fragment of the image in question indicate a relationship with Kuṣāṇa art; on the other hand other points indicate the direction of early Gupta art.

Before discussing the palaeographical peculiarities of this fragment, we would first like to draw attention to a fragment in the Sanchi Museum, N° A. 83, to which it shows several striking similarities [42]). Here too the image was broken at the ankles. An

40) J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXIX. The object between the feet of the image reproduced in J. PH. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. XXXI, a is not discernable.

41) Ibidem, pl. XXIX and pp. 37 and 108.

42) Reproduced in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State,* by M. M. HAMID, Pandit R. C. KAK and RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, Calcutta 1922, pl. XII, pp. 30-31.

adorant is partly preserved on the right side and shows exactly the same attitude of his left hand on the left hip, while, moreover, the end of the flower-garland which he probably carries in his right hand is still visible. Once having glanced at this fragment we can now be certain that our surmise about an adorant with a garland in his hand concerning the fragment of the year 14 was right. In the case of the Sanchi fragment the lotus-vegetation between the feet is also broken, but this time not the upper half but the lower part is preserved. So here too our surmise was right. The Sanchi fragment shows an inscription on the lower rim of the base which in contrast with the other fragment is embellished with a relief of a Bodhisattva with male and female adorants at his right and left side. This inscription mentions the date of the erection of the Buddha image in question in the following words: "...rājño vaskuṣāṇasya sa 20 2 va 2 di 10..." [43]).

Who is this king mentioned as reigning in the year 22? The authors of the Catalogue of the Sanchi Museum say thatVas*n*uṣāṇa probably was a foreigner. As we have changed the name into Vas*k*uṣāṇa, we would like to see a Kuṣāṇa in this monarch, but it seems impossible to identify him with one of the known Kuṣāṇas, more in particular Kaniṣka who reigned at least till the first month of the summer season of the year 23 [44]). Perhaps there was another Kuṣāṇa reigning at the same time? This seems impossible when we see the enormous territory over which Kaniṣka so autocratically reigned. We should like to propose the following solution for this difficulty: The style-critical congruity with the image of the year

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43) The *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi* gives the reading "*Vasṇuṣāṇasya*" on p. 30. The second akṣara, however, is *sku* in our opinion. It is possible that this has already been corrected, but we have not found any article about it.

Another detail which we would like to correct in the reading of the inscription is the end. According to the authors of the Catalogue it runs: "... sarvvasattanā ca su". As far as we can see in the reproduction in pl. XII it runs: ".... sarvvasatvana(ṃ) ca hita ...." (here follow some illegible akṣaras probably *sukhāye*). This reading also changes the translation, namely into "for the welfare (and happiness) of the donor's parents and of all creatures".

44) DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Three Mathura Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushana Dynasty*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, pp. 399-406, esp. p. 404.

14 which we have discussed above points to the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. We ought to add to this that there is no tenon under the base of the image which we have noticed to be customary with the standing images of the Kuṣāṇa period up till the middle of the 1st century of the Kaniṣka era. Moreover, the earlier standing Buddha images never showed a relief on their bases, whereas in the case of the image under discussion a Bodhisattva figure is worshipped on the front of the pedestal by a number of adorants, which is also a characteristic of Mathurā art after the year 51 of the Kaniṣka era. Further the pilasters on both sides, as well as the dentil above the relief, point to a phase of development belonging to the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century of the Kaniṣka era (compare the relief of the Dhruv Ṭīlā stūpa in textfig. 1 on p. 81).

Finally also the palaeography gives us some indications: the *sa* is strongly looped, the *ṇa* quite round and the *na* also has a definitely late form ㅈ.

All these points show that the fragment has to be dated close to the image of the year 14, i.e. in the beginning of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period and so we probably have to understand the date 22 as 122. This solution is also satisfactory in that way, that we can now consider Vaskuṣāṇa as one of Vāsudeva I's successors and perhaps the successor of Kaniṣka III (Vāsu[deva II] Kuṣāṇa ??), unless the realm fell into several parts, each piece ruled by a separate king.

Let us now turn to the inscription on the base of the image of the year 14. It will be remembered that the inscription mentions the month Pauṣa in the date. DAYA RAM SAHNI remarked in his publication that the inscription was most important, for two reasons: "The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāṇa period which quotes the month of its date by its Hindu solar name instead of by the season name, which is invariably the case in other Brāhmī inscriptions of this period. This remark, of course, does not apply to the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, as several of them contain the solar names of months. The inscription is also important for another reason. Hitherto we possessed no inscription dated between the years 11 and 22 of the Kushāṇa-era which was definitely assignable

to the reign of Kaṇishka. The present inscription is clearly dated in the year 14 of that King." [45])

We have finished with the second point. The first point, however, should retain our attention now for a while. The use of the Hindu name of the month is not customary in Post-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions at Mathurā. It is true it regularly occurs in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from North-West India, which are in Kharoṣṭhī script. Presumably this peculiarity in the inscription under discussion is due to influence from that part of India, or an anticipation of the custom during the reign of the Gupta Emperors, when the Hindu name of the month is general.

The language of the inscription very strongly resembles that, found also in several Post-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. The deviations from classic Sanskrit are only very few in number, and indeed they mainly consist of a slightly different manner of writing, or a wrong application of the sandhi rules. In fact a decided deviation is only: *saṃmyasaṃbuddhasya* instead of *samyaksaṃbuddhasya*; for the rest the inscription has been written in pure Sanskrit. Slighter deviations in the spelling as: *bha*(or *ā*)*ryyā* instead of *bhāryā*; *bhagavato* instead of *bhagavataḥ*; *sarvva* instead of *sarva* and *dukkha* instead of *duḥkha*, are of no importance. They are a usual phenomenon in manuscripts and inscriptions [46]).

At the beginning of our discussion of this fragment we found that the writing deviated too much from the writing of the early Kuṣāṇa period and therefore could not belong to the year 14 of the Kaniṣka era. On closer investigation various characters show peculiarities which it is worth while considering, as they strongly point in the direction of Gupta script. The character *la,* in line 2: *saṃghilā* has the form . Furthermore the *ma* in line 1: *mahārāja* is or in line 1: *māsa, asmiṃ* and line 2: *pitāmahasya* and *saṃmyasaṃbuddhasya*: or in line 2: *svamatasya* and *pratima(*or *ā)m*: . A third character which has altered is *ha*; it has

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45) DAYA RAM SAHNI, *Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the Kushana year 14, Ep. Ind.,* vol. 19, 1927-'28, p. 97.

46) L. RENOU, *Grammaire sanscrite,* Paris 1930, tome I, § 7.

now taken a quarter turn and shows the form of our figure 5: 5 5 in line 1: *mahārāja* and *pra(*or *ā)varikahasth(is)ya*; in line 2: *pitāmahasya* and line 3: *prahāṇārtthaṃ*. The *sa* often has a loop at the left upright: H. Finally, the anusvāra is indicated several times by a horizontal dash instead of a dot. These five examples must suffice. Almost all these peculiarities mentioned are also found in several inscriptions of the Gupta period and a group from Kosam, dated in an unknown era.

After we had finished this study an article by F. W. THOMAS appeared on the inscription of the year 14 [47]). He too draws attention to the deviating characters, especially the *ma, sa* and *ha.* The deviating form of *ha* occurs in the domain Mathurā-Sanchi-Kosam in inscriptions of 250-450 A.D. In the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas it occurs earlier already, viz. for the first time, still combined with the older form of *ha,* in the inscription of Śaka 127 or 126 of Rudrasena, i.e. since 205 A.D. and on the coins of these monarchs already since Rudradāman, i.e. since about 150 A.D. The later form of *ma* does not appear on these coins until Dāmajada-śrī and Rudrasena, so about 200 A.D. "In general, no doubt, the inscriptions lagged behind the coins in the adoption of alphabetic modifications .... Probably the special forms of *h* and *m* were first developed in Western India and the epigraphical use of them commenced in the time of Rudrasena, say c. A.D. 200. The usage may have spread to Mathurā in the first half of the IIIrd century A.D." [48])

Somewhat later than 200 A.D. we may therefore, according to THOMAS, expect these later forms at Mathurā, and indeed we found the later *ma* when dealing with the inscriptions Nos 55 and 57 of LÜDERS' *List,* respectively from the years 235 and 240 A.D. [49]). The inscription of the year 109 of the Kaniṣka era [50]), as well as the one we are discussing now, dating in our opinion from the year 114 of Kaniṣka's era or 192 A.D., are, however,

47) F. W. THOMAS, *Kaniṣka Year 14, India Antiqua,* Leyden 1947, pp. 296-303.
48) Ibidem, pp. 299-300.
49) See Ch. IV, pp. 254-259 and Ch. V, pp. 290-297.
50) See Ch. V, pp. 295-297.

considerably older. The possibility therefore arises that Mathurā has the honour of displaying the earliest example of the new form of *ma*.

Consequently we see the same trend in the inscription (wording, language and palaeography), as in the style of the fragment, viz. that various elements are rather strongly reminiscent of the Gupta period.

THOMAS, being of opinion that "it seems impossible that an inscription dated in the years of a Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka, especially as inscribed at Mathurā, the head-quarters from an early date of Kuṣaṇa rule in India, should refer to any other than the Kuṣaṇa era", gives the following solution for the difficulty that here an inscription of the year 14 clearly shows later forms of characters viz. from the 3rd or 4th century: "Examination of the photograph reveals at once that the decimal figure in the "14", though it has been injured on the stone, is quite different from the perfectly normal "10" of the day figure. In regard to quite minor divergences in such cases we are not entitled to be scrupulous: instances may be seen in ...... Such differences are not to be compared with that between the two forms—in the year [sign], in the day [sign] —of "Kaniṣka 14"." [51]) According to THOMAS, the first mark therefore should be something else than 10, most probably 100 or 200 [52]). Out of a great number of figure-signs for 100

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51) F. W. THOMAS, *Kaniṣka Year 14, India Antiqua*, p. 300.

52) As an argument THOMAS advances an inscription published by DAYA RAM SAHNI in *Seven Inscriptions from Mathura, Ep. Ind.*, vol. 19, 1927-'28, pp. 65-69, N° 7. Instead of: "(va)rṣaṇā 90 1 kāruṇika" he suggests "(va)rṣa 100 (or 200) 90 1 kāruṇika" on account of the fact that the character before 90 cannot be a *ṇa* as it differs from the *ṇa* in *kāruṇika*. This is correct. However, the character for *ṇa* in *kāruṇika* looks like this [sign]. We find this same character as *na* in line 2 in the word *sāṅghikana*. It is the common character for *na*, only the box-head is a bit more accentuated. Although the sandhi requires a *ṇa* after the *r*, this is a frequently occurring deviation in inscriptions. In the year 91 the *ṇa* had moreover long since changed its earlier shape [sign] into [sign]. This is certainly the case if the inscription would be still later than 91, e.g. 191 as THOMAS suggests. Therefore the word *kāruṇika* has to be changed into *kārunika* and the character in front of 90 [sign] has to be read as *ṇā*. Finally the first character (*va*) is only a hypothesis, as the stone has broken off before *rṣa* and there may have been another character as well. Moreover, the number 91

and 200, THOMAS finally chooses the figure for 100 in the inscription of Gaḍhā [numeral sign], as bearing the greatest resemblance to the figure in the inscription of the year 14. He finally concludes that the figure in question denotes 100 or 200 and so the date is 104 or 204: "Even a Kaniṣka of year 204, if not later than about the end of the IIIrd century A.D., would not be impossible." [53])

We regret not to be able to agree with THOMAS, as the reader will understand. The material in Chapters IV and V is in contradiction with his idea. Moreover, as far as we can see, the decimal figure in the inscription is absolutely undamaged and shows quite another form, viz. [numeral sign], than that which THOMAS thinks he sees viz. [numeral sign]. Without previous commentary we have asked various unprejudiced persons to draw what they thought they saw on the photograph; the little circles were always closed at the bottom. In our opinion the number only differs in so far from that of the day in the same inscription, that the last one clearly has an open loop at the right side. However, this variation in writing occurs very often. Therefore we think it entirely justifiable to read a 10 for the decimal figure, and thus for the date 14.

As to the history of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period we have seen that BACHHOFER has convincingly proved that Kaniṣka III succeeded Vāsudeva I. It is very tempting to identify the Kaniṣka of our inscription with this monarch of the same name, who is known from the coins of the last quarter of the 2nd century A.D. His successor Vāsudeva II might be identified then, without objection, with the Po-t'iao, i.e. Vāsudeva, who sent a legation to the Chinese court in 230 A.D. [54]) and he is the same as the one about whom MOÏSE

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does not necessarily refer to a date, for it immediately attracts the attention that in that case the month and the day would have been omitted. Perhaps an amount of money or of goods has been mentioned? We do not see the considerable similarity which THOMAS sees between [numeral sign] of the inscription just discussed and [numeral sign] (in reality [numeral sign]) of the inscription Kaniṣka year 14. Resuming we think the passage in question runs as follows: "rṣaṇā 90 1 kārunika". As a result the inscription does not seem an argument in favour of THOMAS' hypothesis.

53) F. W. THOMAS, *Kaniṣka Year 14*, *India Antiqua*, p. 303.

54) *San kuo chih* (section *Wei chih*, Ch. III, p. 3). Furthermore E. H. PARKER, *China and Religion*, London 1905, p. 75 and ED. CHAVANNES, *Review of* O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker*

OF KHORENE tells us something. GHIRSHMAN draws attention to this fact with the following words: "... l'historien arménien Moïse de Khorène raconte qu'après la victoire d'Ardéshir sur Artaban, le roi Khosroès Ier d'Arménie forma une coalition pour combattre Ardéshir et restaurer les Parthes. Il s'adressa au roi des Kouchans qui entra dans la lutte. Le nom de ce dernier est conservé sous la forme de Vehsadjan ou Vehsadjen dans la quelle on reconnaît, dans le premier terme, le Vahu ou Vasu, et dans le second le *Tchan-t'an* ou *Tchen-tan,* dans lequel Sylvain Lévi a d'abord vu le nom Cinastana, mais y renonça à la suite des remarques de M. Pelliot, et admit qu'il s'agissait d'un titre qui remplace celui de "roi". Vehsadjan entra dans la lutte contre Ardéshir en 227, mais deux ans après (en 229) l'abandonna." [55])

This Vāsudeva is presumably the same person of whom ṬABARĪ tells us that he came into contact with Ardashir I after 224: "The Kushān-shah and the Kings of Tūrān and Makurān sent envoys to declare their allegiance." [56]) Perhaps this Kuṣāṇa king is the same as the one who according to ṬABARĪ was deprived of Bactria by Ardashir I between 241 and 251 [57]).

We regret, however, that we can neither agree with GHIRSHMAN's conclusion that this Vāsudeva of 240 A.D. is the same as the one who reigned in the years 62-98 of the Kaniṣka era, nor with his second conclusion, based on the first, that consequently Kaniṣka came to the throne between the years 143 and 152 A.D. [58]). For although the latest Kuṣāṇa coins found by GHIRSHMAN in Begram,

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und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abh. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Berlin 1904, Phil.-hist. Classe, in *T'oung Pao,* série II, tome V, 1904, pp. 487-490.

55) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Fouilles de Bégram (Afghanistan), J.A.,* tome 234, 1943-'45, pp. 59-71, esp. p. 64.

56) E. HERZFELD, *Paikuli, Monument and Inscription of the early History of the Sasanian Empire, Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst,* vol. III, Berlin 1924, pp. 36-37; see also TH. NÖLDEKE, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden,* Leyden 1879, pp. 17-18.

57) ṬABARĪ, translation H. ZOTENBERG, tome II, Paris 1869, p. 73.

58) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Fouilles de Bégram (Afghanistan), J.A.,* tome 234, 1943-'45, pp. 59-71, esp. pp. 63-65. G. BATAILLE concluded to a date about 120 A.D., *Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans et des Koushan-Shahs Sassanides, Arethuse,* vol. V, Paris 1928, p. 19-35, esp. pp. 25-27.

were those of Vāsudeva I, there is not the slightest proof that the destroyer of the city was Ardashir I. Another feat of arms which is attributed to this king by GHIRSHMAN, viz. the conquest of Peshāwar is doubted by KRAMERS who does not believe in the equalization Pškbvr = Peshāwar [59]).

In view of the fore-going the greatest probability is that the fragment under discussion dates from the year 192 A.D. Nevertheless there were some peculiarities in the fragment pointing to the Gupta period. The conclusion to be drawn from this, which has continually been proved already by all preceding Chapters, is, that after Vāsudeva I all cultural life does not suddenly break off and begin again quite as suddenly with the arrival of the Guptas. This dark intermediate period of about one and a half century between both great dynasties, is usually passed over as much as possible, because of the simple fact that so little of it is known. This blank in history is then explained [60]) by the crumbling of the large Kuṣāṇa kingdom after Vāsudeva I into a number of smaller independent states, mostly reigned over by dynasties originally of foreign descent: "Les événements du IIIe siècle échappent à l'historien; nous sommes très mal renseignés sur l'empire kouchane. L'histoire ne reprend qu'en 318-319, quand se fonde, dans le vieux pays de Magadha, une nouvelle dynastie vraiment indigène, qui revient aux traditions des Mauryas." [61])

One of the arguments brought forward by some scholars, "inter alia" by GHIRSHMAN [62]) in favour of a break-down of the Kuṣāṇa realm immediately after Vāsudeva I, is the inscription LÜDERS' *List* N° 78, dating according to these scholars from the year 299

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59) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* pp. 99-100 and 161. Professor KRAMERS was so kind as to let us read his article about this topic which will be published in the next issue of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Years 1940-1947.*

60) V. A. SMITH, *The Early History of India,* 1st ed., p. 241; 2nd ed., p. 256; 3rd ed., p. 275; 4th ed., p. 291.

61) P. MASSON-OURSEL, *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne, L'évolution de l'humanité,* dir. H. BERR, Paris 1933, p. 58.

62) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* p. 163.

of the old era. It would prove that the year after that, from which we have the last inscription of Vāsudeva I, the old era was brought back into use again, which includes that the Kuṣāṇa dynasty had died out in that year [63]). We have seen, however, that the inscription LÜDERS' *List* N° 78 could palaeographically speaking impossibly have been written after Vāsudeva I, and that it rightly dates from the year 199, and herewith the argument for a break in the Kuṣāṇa dynasty in the year 98 of the Kaniṣka era is refuted. In contrast to this we have pleaded for a continuity not only in politics but also in cultural life, and we think that especially the last continuity is an argument in favour of that in the first case.

Part of this uninterrupted cultural life consists of the unbroken sequence in art. A nice example of this last continuity can be found in the bases of the seated images. We can follow their development from the early Kuṣāṇa period in which the lions at the corners are facing outwards (see figs. 30, 32 and esp. fig. 66), via the later Kuṣāṇa period in which the lions have turned to the front (as a result of North-West Indian influences, see figs. 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49), and the Post-Kuṣāṇa period (see figs. 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 62), to the Gupta period (see fig. 65) [64]). The only difference we can find between these examples from this uninterrupted series of bases of the later Kuṣāṇa and those of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period is that the chests of the lions gradually grow more globular. Finally the only difference between the bases of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period and those of Gupta art is that the manes are shorter in the Gupta period and the lions' heads no longer project

63) GHIRSHMAN says on p. 163 that the successors of Vāsudeva I present themselves as if they were "continuateurs de la lignée de Kaniṣka", although they were not. In our opinion there is no reason to doubt that they were relatives of Kaniṣka.

64) For another Gupta example see the Buddha of Māṇukuwār, D.G.A.'s *Cat.* p. 302, N° 661, reproduced in *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 162. That our fig. 65 is a Gupta base is proved by the inscription on the upper rim which we read as follows: "(saṃ)vva 90 (7?) varṣamā 1 koḷeya gaṇa vaira śakha .... pratiṣṭhāpita". The round form of the characters, for instance *ṣa, ga,* and *pa,* and the typical Gupta form of *ma* and *ṇa* clearly show that the base is dated in the year 9(7) of the Gupta era. Another indication for the date is the Gupta style of hair-dressing of the adorants.

above the top slab of the base. Otherwise the whole arrangement is quite the same: lions at the corners facing the observer, the legs wide apart, in the centre a holy symbol (mostly a cakra on an altar or stambha) and on both sides adorants.

From what has been discussed in the preceding Chapters and these last pages it is clear that a sudden end of cultural expressions, as e.g. art, is out of the question. At most, the period of 150 years forming the transition between Vāsudeva I and the Gupta dynasty is rather vague in the domain of politics. In our opinion we have demonstrated clearly enough the continuity on art-historical, palaeographical and epigraphical grounds, and therewith found in these various domains the missing link between these two great flourishing periods.

In order to denominate this age of transition, we have called it the Post-Kuṣāṇa period. We might also have called it the Pre-Gupta period. However, the first denomination seemed better to us, because the whole period, as far as we can judge from various cultural aspects: language, script, sculpture, and religion, is strongly built on the Kuṣāṇa period and forms a logical continuation of it, while there is not a single indication as to a hiatus between both periods. The only difference that might exist between those two periods is, that in the Post-Kuṣāṇa period we no longer hear regularly of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. In our opinion the term "Post-Kuṣāṇa period" better emphasizes the uninterrupted continuation from one age into another, whereas the term "Pre-Gupta period", used for a time following the reign of Vāsudeva I, immediately reminds one of something entirely new, suggesting an apparent gap, which does not really exist.

The Post-Kuṣāṇa period consequently forms the missing link between the flourishing periods of Kuṣāṇas and Guptas, on one side forming the continuation of the first one in all its aspects, on the other side bearing the germs of the great blossoming under the Imperial Guptas, being a transition-period in which the artists struggle to express their ideals. From sculptures which have reached us from this period, we see how they develop their technique, how their minds reach higher and higher. It is only

regrettable that exactly from the second half of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period so few Buddhist sculptures have been preserved. This must undoubtedly result from the fact that political disturbances gave art no opportunity to express itself, and the economic situation was so bad, that few commissions were given, but the few pieces of sculpture that are left from the second half of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period give promise of something beautiful. As soon as favourable circumstances were created by the appearance of the Gupta dynasty, the promise of the second half of the Post-Kuṣāṇa period is redeemed; then the buds of that age completely unfold and the flower of art blossoms in the cherishing sunlight of prosperity and peace.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HISTORY OF NORTH INDIA FROM THE 1ST CENTURY B.C. TO THE 3RD CENTURY A.D.

In Chapter I we have tried to show that information from China and the West tally completely as far as the conquest of Bactria, owing to the great trek, is concerned. KONOW supposes, following RAPSON's opinion, that the cause of the invasion into India must be sought for in the action taken by the Śakas in Seistān, when, after the reign of Mithradates II, they made themselves independent of the much weaker Parthia. "Shortly after the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. the Sakas of Seistān made themselves independent of Parthia and started on a career of conquest, which took them to the Indus country. One of these events was commemorated through the establishment of a Saka era beginning, as I shall try to show below, about 84 B.C." [1]) The last sentence of the quotation hinting at the (mistaken) theory regarding the word *ayasa,* was rendered valueless in 1932. It is, moreover, clear that it was only the astronomical calculations of VAN WIJK [2]) which induced KONOW afterwards to regard the beginning of that era as the commemoration of the invasion in India, and he did not think out first which event would be suitable as a starting-point of the era, and then decide the date of that event. We will shortly refer to the possibility of an invasion from Seistān.

We saw already [3]) that Artabanus I was killed in a fight against the Scythians, Yüeh-chih (Tochari) and Śakas, and that Mithradates II ascended the throne after him and reigned from 124-88 B.C. In our opinion the passage by STRABO concerned him:

1) *Corpus,* p. XXXVI.
2) W. E. VAN WIJK, *The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Acta Or.,* vol. III, Leiden 1925, pp. 52-91, esp. p. 76.
3) See Ch. I, pp. 35-37.

ἀφείλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν[4]). From JUSTINUS we know further about this monarch: "Huic Mithridates filius succedit, cui res gestae Magni cognomen dedere; quippe claritatem parentum aemulatione virtutis accensus animi magnitudine supergreditur. Multa igitur bella cum finitimis magna virtute gessit multosque populos Parthico regno addidit. Sed et [5]) cum Scythis prospere aliquotiens dimicavit ultorque iniuriae parentum fuit. Ad postremum Artoadisti, Armeniorum regi, bellum intulit." [6])

An explanation about the war against Armenia follows, and further on in the narrative the persons of Mithradates II and III are evidently confused.

The impression we receive from this description is that of a powerful and bellicose king, and it is clear that we must connect him with the passage by STRABO, for JUSTINUS expressly mentions that Mithradates II fought the Scythians in the East with success, while in that part in which he deals with Mithradates I, there is nothing said about wars in the East with the Scythians.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that it was not the weakness of the Parthian kingdom, but just these wars by Mithradates II against the Scythians that led a part of them to seek a new fatherland once more. Finally there must indeed have been an urgent necessity forcing them to leave the then extremely fruitful Bactria, and we believe that just as the Hsiung-nu were the cause that a part of the Yüeh-chih left Tun-huang for the upper Ili, and just as the Wu-sun were the cause that part of them went further to the West, so now the Parthians were the cause of the Scythians breaking up and moving to India. Exactly when, during the long reign of Mithradates II (124-88 B.C.), this exodus took place cannot be

4) STRABO, 11.9.2 or C. 515.

5) This *et* is not properly translated by PESSONNEAUX and we think that it must again as on p. 49 mean "aussi"; the sentence would therefore run as follows: "And he *also* fought succesfully several times against the Scythians." *Oeuvres complètes de Justin, abrégé de l'Histoire universelle de Trogue Pompée,* traduction française par JULES PIERROT et E. BOITARD. Edition soigneusement revue par M. E. PESSONNEAUX, Paris, no date, p. 372.

6) JUSTINUS, XLII.2.3-6.

said. The first date of the foreign invaders that we find in India is the inscription on the well at Maira in the Punjāb, south of Taxila, of the year 58 of the old era, id est 71 B.C., and from that year the stream of more than 20 dated inscriptions flows on until the year 200 of the old era, that is to say 71 A.D.

As we have said, KONOW [7]) agrees with RAPSON [8]) in thinking that the invasion by foreign tribes into India took place from Seistān, and not so long ago CODRINGTON joined in with their opinion [9]). TARN, who assumes that the establishment of a Śaka kingdom in Seistān about 155 B.C. forms the starting-point of the era used in the early inscriptions of North-West India, also concurs with this opinion [10]).

Judging from the *Periplus* there was afterwards a Scythian kingdom on both sides of the Indus, which later on came under Parthian rule. TARN thinks that this kingdom flourished between 110 and 80 B.C., and that about 80 B.C. the Śakas under Moga went in a northerly direction under pressure of the Parthians and conquered the Punjāb, for the inscription on the copper plate discovered at Taxila of the year 78 must originate, according to him, from 155—78 = 77 B.C. and therefore Moga with his Śakas must have gone to the North before that year [11]).

The copper plate from Taxila is in our opinion not only dated in the year 129—78 = 51 B.C., but moreover TARN has not thought of the inscription of Maira, the date of which was read by CUNNINGHAM as 58, which KONOW accepted. According to the reasoning of TARN, Śakas ought to have been already in the Northern Punjāb in 97 B.C., which does not tally with his theory about the trek northwards under the leadership of Moga. This applies equally to the inscriptions of Shahdaur, Mānsehrā and Fatehjang. TARN's presentation of affairs is due to his

7) *Corpus*, p. XXXI.

8) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 570.

9) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *A Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia, The Geographical Journal*, vol. CIV, London 1944, pp. 27-40 and pp. 73-91, esp. p. 36.

10) TARN, p. 320.

11) TARN, p. 321.

opinion about the date of the beginning of the old era in 155 B.C. and the origin of the users of this era from Seistān; this probably rests on the fact that the name Seistān indeed means Śakastān. Although it is probable that Śakas from Seistān invaded India at an early time the possibility exists that the makers of the early Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in North-West India did not invade India from the West, but from the North [12]), and that they were not only Śakas, but a mixed throng of Tochari, Śakas and others.

Except for the inscription of Maira the following objections to TARN's point of view can be added here. From PTOLEMY it clearly appears that we must not think that Scythia as we know it from the *Periplus* was wholly confined to the South, id est to the delta of the Indus, as for example CODRINGTON [13]) does, for when PTOLEMY sums up the towns of Indo-Scythia with their geographical situations, towns are also included which lie far to the North, namely in the Punjāb [14]). The *Periplus,* moreover, says itself: ...ἐκδέχεται ⟨τὰ⟩ παραθαλάσσια μέρη τῆς Σκυθίας παρ' αὐτὸν κειμένης τὸν βορέαν ... [15]). The settling of the Śakas in Seistān by King Mithradates II which is accepted by TARN and many others is refuted by THOMAS with very sound arguments [16]), of which the most important is that already Darius in his rock-inscriptions mentions the

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12) DEBEVOISE and BANERJI-SASTRI also think both routes were used, NEILSON C. DEBEVOISE, *A Political History of Parthia,* Chicago 1938, pp. 58-59. A. BANERJI-SASTRI, *Śakas and Kuṣāṇas in the I and II centuries, I.H.Q.*, vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 199-217, esp. p. 209. See also A. HERRMANN s.v. *Sakai* in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 2e Reihe, I, col. 1770-1806, esp. col. 1802.

13) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *A Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia, The Geographical Journal,* vol. CIV, London 1944, pp. 27-40 and pp. 73-91, esp. p. 37, where he says: "So it is that the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea calls the country about the famous port of Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus, Scythia...."

14) PTOLEMY, Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις, VII, 1, § 55 - § 62, ed. RENOU, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde (VII, 1-4),* Texte établi par LOUIS RENOU, Paris 1925, pp. 25-28.

15) Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, § 38, ed. HJALMAR FRISK, *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift,* vol. XXXIII, Göteborg 1927, p. 12.

16) F. W. THOMAS, *Sakastana, Where dwelt the Śakas named by Darius and Herodotus?, J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 181-200; additions in *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 460-464.

Śakas in Seistān = Śakastāna. Although the probability remains that during the mass-migration new groups of Śakas went to Seistān and from there to India, it is more reasonable to assume that part of the Śakas who lived between Oxus and Jaxartes were carried away in the stream of the great emigration over Hindu-Kush to the Punjāb, yes, perhaps they were the fore-runners of that emigration. The Chinese information from the *Ch'ien han shu* tallies with this, in which the following is very distinctly written about the migration of the Śakas: "The great Yüeh-chih went towards the West and made themselves masters of Ta-hsia, but the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Chi-pin." [17]) According to CHAVANNES [18]) Chi-pin would be Kaśmir, and the route they followed to reach this place would be the Hsien-tu, the hanging pass, id est the Bolor-pass. RAPSON, HERZFELD and TARN say [19]) that it was impossible to go along this pass with a tribe of nomads. TARN rightly casts a doubt on the identification of Chi-pin as Kaśmir, and believes, on grounds of different arguments that Kābul is meant, which is indeed much more probable. In later times the name Chi-pin would be more generally used for districts south of Hindu-Kush in the possession of the Scythians. We therefore get the impression that the Sai-wang, before the Yüeh-chih dispersed from Bactria, had already marched to North-West India in earlier years, probably to escape the pressure which the last-mentioned imposed upon them while pushing forward into Bactria. As a result of the later arrival in Kābul and the Punjāb of the Tochari who had strongly amalgamated themselves with the Śakas, it is very difficult to make a distinction between the different component parts in India, or, as CODRINGTON puts it in his recent brilliant exposé on the geographical history of Central Asia: "... it is seldom possible to sift out the fundamental racial

17) *Ch'ien han shu,* Chapter 96 A, A. WYLIE, *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.,* vol. X, London 1881, p. 34.

18) E. CHAVANNES, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Wei Lio,* série II, tome VI, p. 529, line 4.

19) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.,* vol. I, pp. 563-564; E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, Berlin 1932, p. 20; TARN, pp. 277-278. For more opinions about this question p. 372.

units." [20]) The Indians called the conglomeration mostly "Sakas", because that was the oldest known name of the frontier-races in North-West India, yet in literature the name "Tuṣāras" or "Tukhāras" also occurs, as we have seen [21]).

Besides the already mentioned chain of arguments there are some indications to be taken from the inscriptions themselves which point to the fact that the makers of these inscriptions belonged to the great invasion of nomad-tribes from the North-West. KONOW draws attention to the fact that the satrap Liaka Kusuluka, mentioned in the Taxila copper plate inscription, bears in his name the element "Kusuluka" [22]). THOMAS [23]) and RAPSON [24]) took this to be a title. It is, in our opinion, clear that it was customary with the Scythians to add a second name that was also used by the father or by another blood-relation. Examples indicating this are: Kujūla *Kadphises* — Wima *Kadphises*; *Kusulua* Patika — Liaka *Kusuluka* (the same as *Kujūla* used by the first Kadphises king); Ayasia *Kamuïa* — Kharaosta *Kamuïa.* There are two possible explanations: 1st—The repeated element was a family name, 2nd—It was a patronymic as e.g. John-son. In both cases there is, in our opinion, a family-relation, and so it seems to us that it is quite improbable that "Kusuluka" could be a title, for in that case the "Kujūla" of Kujūla Kadphises should have been used also by his son, but he on the contrary only repeats the name Kadphises [25]). KONOW, who takes "Kusuluka" to be a family

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20) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *A Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia, The Geographical Journal,* vol. CIV, p. 35.

21) See Ch. I, p. 44.

22) *Corpus,* p. XXXIII.

23) F. W. THOMAS, *The Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-Capital, Ep. Ind.,* vol. 9, 1907-'08, pp. 135-147, esp. p. 140.

24) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.,* vol. I, p. 583.

25) A second remark we should like to make is that the same element occurs several times in different names, for instance:

ha	: *Ha*gāmaṣa, *Ha*gāna, *Ha*yuara, *Hā*na.
mu(o)-mew	: *Mu*ki, *Mu*-kua, *Mev*aki, *Mo*ga.
maṣ(s)a	: Hagā*maṣa,* Khala*masa.*
khar(l)a	: *Khala*masa, *Khara*osta, Kujūla *Kara* Kadphises, *Khara*pallāna.
ju(o)la	: Ku*jūla,* Ra*jula,* Maṇi*gula,* Abu*hola,* Mihira*gula.*

name, draws the conclusion from the fact that the Kadphises kings invaded India from the North-West proves: "... that Liaka was descended from the ancient Saka rulers of Ki-pin, and that his family had not come to India from Seistān." [26]) As well as for Liaka KONOW further makes an exception for Kharaosta as regards his origin. He presents the well found equivalent Kamuïa = Kāmbojaka, which is linguistically acceptable so that Kharaosta just as Liaka would originate from the North-West, in contrast to the rest of his countrymen. These exceptions in the case of certain persons sound strange, and we should like to make the most obvious deduction that the facts mentioned simply point out that the makers of these inscriptions came from the North-West instead of from Seistān.

Presumably from the year 58 of the old era, id est 71 B.C., and in any case from the year 60, id est 69 B.C., dated inscriptions were found in North-West India, a proof therefore of the presence at this time of Scythian people in India. Thereupon according to the *Periplus* a Scythian kingdom stretches out along the Indus.

An Indian source, the *Kālakācāryakathānaka* [27]), in Sanskrit and in Prakrit confirms, on the other hand, the invasion from Seistān by the story of Kālaka, a Jaina teacher, whose sister, a nun, was abducted by the Gardabhilla king of Ujjain, after which Kālaka seeks aid from the Śakas: the Sagakūla. Their vassals were called "sāhi" and their overlord "Sāhāṇu Sāhi" — king of kings. After having remained with them for some time Kālaka went with 96 sāhis, who had fallen into disfavour with the king of kings, over the Indus to Kathiawār, and then to Ujjain, both of which countries the Śakas conquered, and there established a dynasty. (Probably it was these Śakas to whom Bhūmaka and Nahapāna belonged. This is confirmed by the passages in several sorts of Jaina literature

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26) *Corpus*, p. XXXIII and p. 36.

27) H. JACOBI, *Das Kālakācārya-Kathānakam*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 34, Leipzig 1880, pp. 247-318, esp. pp. 262-267; BHĀU DĀJI, *The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of Kālakāchārya*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. IX, 1867-1870, Bombay 1872, pp. 139-146.

which JAYASWAL brought forward. [28])) After some time Vikramāditya drove out this Śaka dynasty, and as a commemoration established his own era.

In contradiction to the unbelief, continually attached to this passage, we are in perfect agreement with KONOW, who says that not one reason exists why we should not believe this tradition. The internal evidence is so convincing; the mention of a Scythian kingdom on the Indus communicated by the *Periplus* and by PTOLEMY [29]), the mention of the title of the supreme ruler as "Sāhāṇu Sāhi" (a truly specific title of later Scythian monarchs), that, in our opinion, there need be no doubt about the fact that a historical basis underlies this narrative.

KONOW brings forward a source [30]) from Jaina literature known already for a long time [31]) in which a period of four years is given for the sojourn of the Śakas in Ujjain and believes that the Śakas ruled there from 61 to 57 B.C. JAYASWAL has treated this passage together with some others in a masterly way and the events and dates these sources give us tally in a remarkable way with each other as well as with the historical facts we know of from coins and inscriptions and with the evidence such as the Purāṇas, the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* etc., etc. All these agree in a magnificent way. The dates given in the Purāṇas, the *Paṭṭāvali Gāthās* and by JINASENA correspond in such a way, that not only the right course of events becomes clear from them, but we also can link up the history of this period on the one side with the Mauryas and Śuṅgas and, on the other side, with the Guptas, with the result that a

28) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.,* vol. XVI, 1930, esp. pp. 233-242.

29) *Periplus,* § 38; PTOLEMY, VII, 1, § 55.

30) *Corpus,* p. XXVIII.

31) G. BÜHLER, *Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra?, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 2, 1873, pp. 362-363; H. JACOBI, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, edited with an Introduction, Notes and a Prākṛit-Saṃskṛit Glossary,* Leipzig 1879, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* vol. 7, Leipzig 1881, p. 7 of the introduction; H. JACOBI, *Das Kālakācārya-Kathānakam, Z.D.M.G.,* vol. 34, 1880, p. 253; J. CHARPENTIER, *The Date of Mahavira, Ind. Ant.,* vol. 43, 1914, pp. 118-133 and 167-178, esp. p. 120; S. KONOW, *Some problems raised by the Kharavela inscription, Acta Or.,* vol. I, 1923, pp. 12-42, esp. p. 33.

continuous history of this period could be written. The Sakas dominated a part of Western India under Nahapāna in the first part of the 1st century B.C. [32]). Further JAYASWAL proved that the mythical Vikramāditya was not legendary at all, but was the well-known Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who afterwards received the biruda Vikramāditya, analogous to the later Sātakarṇi king Kuntala who also defeated the Sakas and is mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and other works [33]). The fact that the Indians, probably in a coalition under leadership of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, defeated Nahapāna is not only communicated by Gautamīputra's inscription at Nāsik, but also by the coins of the Mālavas dating from the 1st century B.C. and commemorating this victory. The establishment of this earlier date for Nahapāna took away all difficulties [34]) which existed up till then regarding the date of Nahapāna in between the Western Kṣatrapas of the 2nd century A.D. Moreover the palaeography is quite in agreement with this earlier date, so we think that the tradition, which has come down to us in several ways, is right saying that the Scythians were defeated by Indians in 57 B.C. and that this memorable fact formed the beginning of the so-called Vikrama era. Before that time the Scythian satraps had, however, conquered Mathurā, judging from the inscription of Āmohinī of the year 72 = 57 B.C., for Soḍāsa is styled mahākṣatrapa in this inscription, and in the inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital his father Rajula still has that rank while he himself is only kṣatrapa. Therefore some time must have elapsed between these two inscriptions, and so it is improbable that the conquest of Mathurā coincides with the expulsion from Ujjain.

We must now concentrate our thoughts for a moment on the just mentioned Lion Capital which in our opinion belongs to the earliest Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in India. Although much has been written already about this [35]), there still remains a great deal of

32) K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Satavahana History, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. XVI, 1930, esp. pp. 233-255.

33) Ibidem, pp. 295-300.

34) R. D. BANERJI, *Nahapana and the Saka era, J.R.A.S.*, 1917, pp. 273-289.

35) For literature see *Corpus* p. 31.

obscurity in the inscription. The most fascinating question is the relationships mentioned in the inscription. According to KONOW, Ayasia Kamuïa, daughter of Kharaosta and granddaughter of Arṭa [36]), is the one who erected the Lion Capital. If we calmly read through the inscription, the first impression we receive is that not Ayasia Kamuïa, but Nada Diaka is the foundress. KONOW's objection that *Nada Diaka* is placed too far from *agramahesh(r)i* in the inscription is no proof, as in the inscriptions from Mathurā the foundresses very often put their own names at the end, after having enumerated first their other family relations, father, mother, parents-in-law, husband and children. It is then tempting to take Nada Diaka for the foundress of the Lion Capital, and not Ayasia Kamuïa. Consequently she is not the daughter of Kharaosta Kamuïa but of Ayasia Kamuïa and the mother of Kharaosta and Śoḍāsa.

According to KONOW the relationship of Kharaosta in respect to H.M. King Muki—whom he identifies with King Moga of the copper plate of 78 [37]) and for whom the foundress of the Lion Capital had the solemn ceremonies performed—would be that of nephew and uncle. Muki, then, ought to have died without sons, otherwise the title yuvarāja of Kharaosta would be incomprehensible.

The supposition, however, is obvious that the foundress of the Lion Capital did not have the solemn rites performed for her great-uncle Muki, as KONOW thinks, but that Muki was a near blood-relation of hers. It is remarkable that the foundress of the Lion Capital does mention her grandmother, but not her grandfather,

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36) See genealogical tree, *Corpus*, p. 47. THOMAS, however, in his review of the *Corpus* suggested, in view of the existence of coins with the legend "...... raosta putrasa", that Arṭa was the son of Kharaosta and not vice versa, as KONOW thinks. In itself this legend, in our opinion, is insufficient evidence, as we do not know whether these coins were struck by Arṭa or by another son of Kharaosta. Still, taken all in all, the proposition of THOMAS has more chance of being right than KONOW's. See F. W. THOMAS, *Review of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen,* jrg. 193, 1931, pp. 1-15, esp. pp. 11-12.

37) *Corpus*, p. 36.

and it seems to us that the greatest probability is that she had the ceremonies performed for her seemingly not mentioned grandfather. The title yuvarāja of Kharaosta is then easily explained by the fact that his father was mahākṣatrapa. Now the Lion Capital is certainly older than the Mathurā inscription of 72, in which Śoḍāsa is mentioned as mahākṣatrapa, while on the Lion Capital he is styled merely kṣatrapa. Further, the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script at Mathurā indicates the older date of the Lion Capital. It is a logical course of events that the new rulers in Mathurā first used their own script, the Kharoṣṭhī, and afterwards, as in the inscription of the year 72, passed on to the use of the Brāhmī script which was in fashion in their new territories. A reverse order, which would make the Lion Capital later than the inscription of 72 is unacceptable. The external appearance of the Lion Capital also indicates this chronological sequence. This monument was indeed a royal erection, and therefore very important, so that without doubt the best sculptor was selected. Yet the capital is clumsy, while the art under Śoḍāsa, judging by the āyāgapaṭa on which the inscription of the year 72 is carved, is much better, and so undoubtedly later.

The Lion Capital was therefore erected before the year 72 [38]), and consequently belongs to the very earliest inscriptions of the Scythians in India, and probably dates from about the years 80-60 B.C. In accordance with this is e.g. the fact that Rājūvula's coins were copied from those of Strato I and II, so that these first presumably were minted before the middle of the 1st century B.C. [39]). Should Muki indeed have been the grandfather of the foundress of the Lion Capital, then it is not at all impossible that he is the

38) Whether the Lion Capital is also older than the Taxila copper plate inscription seems difficult to decide unless one supposes a separate era for it as KONOW and GHIRSHMAN do, S. KONOW, *Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions, India Antiqua,* Leyden 1947, pp. 193-197, esp. p. 196; R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* pp. 105-106.

39) See also TARN, p. 325, who, although on other grounds, also accepts this date for Ra(ā)j(ūv)ula, just as J. ALLAN does in *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum: Coins of Ancient India,* London 1936, pp. CXI-CXVI, 183-184.

Mu-kua whom the Chinese mention as king of Ta-yüan in 101 B.C. [40]).

THOMAS, who assumes that there are two separate dedications carved on the Lion Capital, thinks that the dedication of Ayasia Kamuïa (in our opinion Nada Diaka) is the later one [41]). This does not seem very probable to us. This inscription is chiselled in the two places which lent themselves best for it, namely the smooth square back and the top. The other inscription is carried out all over the bodies of the lions in more than 40 lines in the most chaotic manner. The argument that the inscription of the foundress of the Lion Capital must be later because it is carved on a part that is out of sight, applies equally to the second inscription, as far as the lines N 1-4 inclusive are concerned, and moreover we wonder whether it was possible at the time when the capital was erected to read the inscription in the proper order, when we see how many controversial opinions now exist as to which line must be read first, not even counting the question whether it could be read from the ground or not. In our opinion the inscription must not be regarded so much as a communication to the reader, but as a magical fixation of a certain gift, without the additional intention of a visible dedication for later generations, as is the case with our commemorative monuments. The old Persian rock-inscriptions were mostly not readable either from the ground.

A very interesting place in the inscription is taken by two persons: Mahākṣatrapa Kusuluka Patika and Kṣatrapa Mevaki Miyika. In their honour the foundation was instituted, as we learn from one of the two inscriptions. The best assumption is that they owe their high positions to their relationship to the then reigning monarch or his predecessor.

In Mathurā there must have been for some time a settled kṣatrapa government. The names of the kṣatrapas Hagāmaṣa and Hagāna are known to us from coins, and they probably reigned

40) F. HIRTH, *The Story of Chang-K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia, J.A.O.S.*, vol. 37, 1917, pp. 89-152, esp. p. 112.

41) F. W. THOMAS, Review of the *Corpus* in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, jrg. 193, 1931, pp. 1-15.

before Rājūvula. Further, coins have been found of Arṭa and of a son of Kharaosta (perhaps one and the same person?), and also of Rājūvula, the father of Śoḍāsa. His position therefore was rather independent. The last evidence of the Scythians at Mathurā is the inscription of the year 72 = 57 B.C. under Śoḍāsa in which no overlord is mentioned. From the fact that Śoḍāsa is now mahākṣatrapa one may suppose that Rājūvula is dead. Another inscription from the neighbourhood of Mathurā mentions a son of the mahākṣatrapa Rājūvula, by whom presumably Śoḍāsa is meant [42]). Several sorts of coins were struck by Śoḍāsa [43]).

What became of this kṣatrapa family after Śoḍāsa is not known to us. The total lack of dated inscriptions in Mathurā after Śoḍāsa gives rise to the assumption that at a certain moment the Śaka mastery in Mathurā came to an end. After the year 72 of the old era = 57 B.C. we again only have a dated inscription from Mathurā of the year 199 = 70 A.D. Coins of Hindu monarchs called Gomitra and Viṣṇumitra belonging to the period after Śoḍāsa show that a Hindu renaissance took place at Mathurā. Further there is an inscription of a certain minister of King Gomitra and one of a woman who calls her husband Gotiputra, "black snake for the Śakas" [44]). Finally it is remarkable that the year of the last inscription which we have of Śoḍāsa is exactly the same year in which the Śakas were defeated. There are two powers who presumably have brought about the break-up of the Scythians: on the one side the Indians from the East, and on the other side the Parthians from the West. They were driven out of Ujjain and Mathurā, and, in the long run, also from Sind, but it cannot be confirmed whether all these calamities befell the Scythians simultaneously. According to the many inscriptions found in the Punjāb, that region remained their fixed abode. Here in 51 B.C. we find the name of the above mentioned Moga, under whose leadership TARN believes that the conquest of

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42) LÜDERS' *List*, N° 14.

43) E. J. RAPSON, *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, part V, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 285-312, esp. pp. 288-289.

44) Rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, N° 33.

Mathurā, and the trek to the North of the Punjāb took place [45]). We have already seen that this is chronologically impossible on account of the inscriptions before the year 78.

In the 1st century B.C. a monarch Maues or Moa must have reigned, judging from his coins, and as they strongly resemble those of Telephus, TARN thinks he must have lived about 60 B.C. or even earlier [46]). We fully agree with this, and would add as an additional argument that Maues' coins do not show the square omikron. This form of omikron is first seen in Parthia on the coins of Orodes II who ruled from 57-37 B.C. It is unnecessary to refute the opinion of RAPSON [47]) that Maues' coins must be dated as early as 120 B.C. for although SMITH [48]) first agreed with this, the former later on brought proofs forward showing that Maues could not have reigned before 88 B.C. On his early coins Maues still bears the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ—MAHARAJASA MOASA. His later coins display the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ—RAJATIRAJASA MAHATASA MOASA, evidently the translation of the Parthian title Šāhāṇu Šāhi. RAPSON showed that this title was taken over by this "Scythian" king from Mithradates II, the first who bore this imperial title in Parthia, so that Maues could not have reigned before 88 B.C. [49]). It is generally accepted that this King Maues was the same person as Moga of the inscription of the year 78 [50]). Another assumption often made

45) See p. 326. 46) TARN, pp. 497 seq.

47) E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg 1898, § 29, p. 7.

48) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties from about 120 B.C. to 100 A.D., Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 60, 1906, pp. 53-57.

49) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 567 seq. JUNGE thinks Maues reigned already in 160 B.C.; J. JUNGE, *Saka-Studien, der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike, Klio*, 41es Beiheft, Neue Folge 28es Beiheft, Leipzig 1939, p. 99.

50) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Remarks on the Bactro-Pali Inscription from Taxila, J.A.S.B.*, vol. 32, 1863, pp. 139-151, esp. p. 141; *Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura, The Academy*, April 25, 1891, pp. 397-398; E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins*. Strassburg 1898, § 29, p. 7; *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 570; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *A Kushana stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Saka era, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XX, Bombay 1902, pp. 269-302, esp. p. 283; V. SMITH, *The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320, J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 46; *The Early History of India, from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, Oxford 1904,

is that he was a Scythian [51]). We wonder why, and on what grounds? Experience has taught us that in the historical matter of this epoch far too many statements are accepted as definite without sufficient arguments, and often for no other reason than that a predecessor had suggested this or that. It seems to us therefore permissible to return here to the root of the matter, and to ask ourselves: "Why is Maues—Moga considered to be a Scythian?" The fact that an inscription during the reign of Moga in the year 78 is dated in an era used by Scythians, does not seem to us to be a sufficient reason, for this era was used in the same way under the Parthian monarch Gondophernes.

The only material that can enlighten us about Maues—Moga are coins on which the monarch Maues or Moa is mentioned. These coins show in different respects a strong resemblance to those of Azes [52]), and in a lesser degree to those of the other Parthian rulers, such as Vonones, Spalahora and Gondophernes. Not only did Maues and Azes mostly coin the same type of coins, as for example "standing Poseidon", "king on horseback", and "Victory", but also the coin-legends, of which there are a great variety, in this case are exactly the same as far as the early coins of Azes are concerned, viz. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. WHITEHEAD also appears to have noticed the numismatical resemblance, at least he says: "... their (i.e. Maues and Azes) connection with the Sāka dynasty of Vonones is undoubted" [53]). Except

p. 202, 2nd ed., p. 215, 3rd ed. p. 228, 4th ed. p. 242; *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties from about 120 B.C. to 100 A.D.*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 60, 1906, p. 69; H. G. RAWLINSON, *Bactria, the History of a forgotten Empire,* London 1912, p. 106; TARN, p. 321; N. C. DEBEVOISE, *A Political History of Parthia,* Chicago 1938, p. 60.

51) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. VIII, 1888, pp. 199-248, esp. pp. 240 seq.; P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum,* London 1886, p. XXXIII; E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins,* § 29, p. 7; *Corpus,* p. XXIX; TARN, p. 321; N. C. DEBEVOISE, *A Political History of Parthia,* p. 60; K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *A Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia, The Geographical Journal,* vol. CIV, p. 82.

52) We shall prove later on that Azes was a Parthian.

53) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins,* p. 92.

WHITEHEAD there is, as far as we know, almost no one who doubts that the Vonones dynasty is Parthian [54]), but what matters to us here is the striking similarity between the coins of Maues and those of the Parthian monarchs and especially those of Azes. The coins of these two monarchs have yet another point in common for it is remarkable that the coins of both are chiefly found in the Punjāb, and seldom in Afghānistān [55]). This is moreover a peculiarity which we would not expect from a Scythian monarch who invaded India from the North-West, but rather from a monarch who, originating from Parthia pushed into India from the West.

But it is not only to the coins of Azes that the coins of Maues show such a great similarity, but also to the Arsacidian coins in general, as VON SALLET already remarked [56]), and in our opinion, particularly to those of the Parthian dynasty of Vonones as is also WHITEHEAD's view. So perhaps we might be able to say that the type "king on horseback" (in which the horse is not prancing), which is a characteristic of the Parthian dynasty, was inaugurated by Maues [57]). The same holds good for the type "standing Victory" [58]), which in like manner was imitated by all successive Parthians. This is confirmed by SMITH when he says that "...the coinage of Maues stands at the head of the Indo-Parthian series" [59]).

If we further compare Maues' coinage with coins of which

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54) The only scholar we know of who had the same opinion as WHITEHEAD was D. R. BHANDARKAR in *A Kushana stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Saka era, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XX, 1902, p. 292.

55) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 91.

56) A. VON SALLET, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*, Berlin 1879, p. 140. (This also appeared in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. 6, Berlin 1879, pp. 165-231 and 271-411, *Nachträge* in vol. 7, Berlin 1880, pp. 296-307 and vol. 8, Berlin 1881, pp. 109-117.)

57) See P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pl. XVI-XXII.

58) See the lists in E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 592.

59) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 60, 1906, p. 53. See also his four editions of *The Early History of India*, resp. pp. 202, 215, 228 and 242. Not so long ago WHITEHEAD pointed out that several elements in the coins of Arsaces Theos go back to coins of Maues, R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Notes on the Indo-Greeks, Num. Chron.*, 5th series, vol. XX, 1940, pp. 89-122.

we know for certain that they have been cast by Scythians, as e.g. those of Rājūvula [60]), then we will directly notice a great difference. Not only are Maues' coins more beautiful, but the type of coin is entirely different.

Finally all scholars agree that Maues imitated the Parthian title mahārāja rājātirāja, which has always appeared to be somewhat strange for a Scythian monarch, but stands in another light when we assume that Maues himself was a Parthian. Seemingly several of those peculiarities of Maues' coins we have remarked upon have been also observed by VINCENT SMITH judging by his expression: "...there is no proof or real reason to suppose that Maues was a Śaka..." [61]) We must conclude therefore that there are many indications in Maues' coinage showing that he was a Parthian.

Consequently two possibilities exist: either Maues, identical with Moga, was a Parthian, or Maues is not the same person as Moga, so that the possibility that this last was a Scythian still remains [62]). The only one as far as we know who already earlier had doubts about the identification of Maues as Moga was FLEET [63]) as a result of the fact that he dated the coins of Maues about 120 B.C. and thought that the inscription of Moga of the year 78 was dated in the Vikrama era. Moreover he pointed out that the linguistic identification Moga = Moa = Maues cannot be proved, as the idea that "single consonants between two vowels are liable to disappear" is no fixed rule. FLEET contends further that the reasoning: "If Moga is not the same as Maues, then we possess no coins

60) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pl. XV, 11 and 12.

61) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 60, 1906, p. 53.

62) We do not think GOVIND PAI's hypothesis that Moga did not exist at all is probable. He reads *māgasa* in stead of *mogasa* in the Taxila inscription, and explains it as an intercalated month Māgha; the result to which he arrives is that the old Śaka era started in 155-154 B.C.; M. G. PAI, *Chronology of Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas, J.I.H.*, vol. XVI, 1935, Madras 1936, pp. 309-342.

63) J. F. FLEET, *Moga, Maues, and Vonones, J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 1013-1040, esp. p. 1024; *Review* of E. J. RAPSON's *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the first Century A.D., J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 795-799, esp. p. 797 and *The Taxila Inscription of the Year 136, J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 992-999, esp. p. 994.

of Moga, and no inscriptions of Maues", is not of necessity a proof that Moga *is* Maues. We wholly agree with FLEET on this point, but even then it is not yet proved that Moga is *not* the same as Maues. This will only be possible when we can definitely state that Moga was a Scythian, considering that we have shown that Maues in any case was a Parthian. For the present the first is not possible, as the fact that Moga was mentioned in an inscription issued by Scythians is no proof that he himself was also a Scythian. Gondophernes, of whom we are certain that he was a Parthian, is also mentioned in an inscription of the Scythians and moreover it is historically fixed by the *Periplus* that great parts of territories earlier ruled over by Scythians in later times were conquered by Parthians [64]). Consequently we do not dare to decide the question whether Moga is the same as Maues or not.

In connection with Maues we should like to touch upon a question discussed by TARN. According to him there must have been five reigning monarchs between Antialcidas and Maues = Moga [65]). The first mentioned began to reign, according to TARN, at the latest in 130 B.C. and was the same person who sent Heliodorus, son of Dion, as ambassador to the court of a certain King Bhāgabhadra, at Vaiśalī, the present Besnagar. Now TARN denies that this Bhāgabhadra could be the Bhāga, mentioned in the Purāṇas and reigning about 90 B.C., according to RAPSON [66]), because then there would not have been sufficient time for the five mentioned kings to reign between Antialcidas and Maues = Moga who, according to TARN, lived in 77 B.C. Firstly, in our opinion, it was not at all necessary that the aforesaid five monarchs ruled one after the other. On account of the riotous times and the many usurpations they could very well have reigned simultaneously over different parts of the country. Moreover the dynastic list of the Śuṅga kings ends in 72 B.C. according to RAPSON [67]). Bhāga therefore ought to have reigned from 114-82 B.C., so we may

64) *Periplus*, § 38.
65) TARN, pp. 313 seq.
66) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 521.
67) Ibidem, p. 518.

conjecture that it is not impossible that the said five monarchs reigned between say ± 100 B.C. and 51 B.C. Consequently we do not like to put aside "a priori" the identification of Bhāgabhadra mentioned on the Besnagar pillar as Bhāga mentioned in the Purāṇas, unless more serious objections can be brought forward.

From the *Periplus* it appears that no friendly relationship existed between the Parthians and the Scythians, and we entirely agree with KONOW that the relation between both was not of such nature that one could almost take them to be identical or at least hardly distinguishable as FRANKE [68]), RAPSON [69]), DEBEVOISE [70]), and CODRINGTON [71]) think. When the Parthian urge for expansion began cannot be said with certainty. In this connection, however, the fact deserves to be mentioned that CUNNINGHAM thought he was able to distinguish the name Moa in an inscription at Maira of presumably 71 B.C. As the inscription is now quite illegible, we unfortunately cannot use this fact as a basis for an argument. In Parthia itself, a powerful monarch, Orodes II, ruled from 57 until 37 B.C.; he even inflicted a defeat upon the Romans when he crushed Crassus in 53 B.C. near Carrhae [72]). The long reign of this monarch must have been a favourable time for Parthian expansion which progressed under the reign of Orodes' successor Phraates IV (37-2 B.C.). This last ruler had a troubled reign. According to JUSTINUS he was banished by the Parthians on account of his cruelty [73]). Tiridates, who was made king in his

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68) O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abh. Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1904, Phil.-hist. Abhandl. I, p. 75.

69) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 568, 573-574.

70) N. C. DEBEVOISE, *A Political History of Parthia*, p. 61.

71) K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *A Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia, The Geographical Journal*, vol. CIV, pp. 36, 79-81, discusses "the joint Saka-Parthian invasion".

72) A. VON GUTSCHMID, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, Tübingen 1888, pp. 85 seq.

73) JUSTINUS, XLII. 5.

stead, however, was forced to retire about 30 B.C. [74]), or according to JUSTINUS in 25 B.C., so that the reign of Phraates IV must have been a series of riots, perhaps as a result of the fact that he concentrated his thoughts too much on the Romans. He was at last murdered by his son Phraataces (2 B.C. - 4 A.D.), who was banished by the nobles who raised Orodes III (4-6 A.D.) to the throne, but he also was soon murdered. After a time of civil war and turbulence Vonones I, the eldest son of Phraates IV ascended the throne in 8 A.D , but he was shortly chased away by a rebel, Artabanus III.

When we review the just described period of Parthian history from the reign of Phraates IV, then it is clear that the turbulent times near the end of the 1st century B.C. must have been an excellent time for the Kuṣāṇas to take advantage of the weakness of the Parthians' power, and we must then surely place the action of Kujūla Kadphises in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. This tallies with the results we arrived at in Chapter One, to which we will try to give some additional proofs in this Chapter further on. Moreover, the Chinese sources also tell us that Kujūla Kadphises defeated An-hsi and consequently conquered Kābul [75]). In Chinese writings Parthia is always indicated as An-hsi, but as the Arsacidian kingdom did not extend so far East at this time, An-hsi must undoubtedly mean the Parthian kings who ruled over India. The turbulent situation in Parthia itself made it impossible for its kings to rush to the aid of their kinsmen. Further on we will return to the date when Kujūla Kadphises began to reign, and we only state here that with his accession the decline of Parthian power in India starts.

From a large number of coins and one or two inscriptions we learn several names of kings who ruled during the time of the Parthian domination, the zenith of which was reached about the

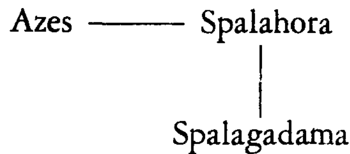
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74) DIO CASSIUS, LI. 18. 3; ed. E. CARY, *Dio's Roman History,* vol. VI, *Loeb Classical Library,* London 1917, p. 51.

75) *Hou han shu,* Ch. 118, E. CHAVANNES, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han chou, T'oung Pao,* série II, tome VIII, 1907, pp. 149-234, esp. pp. 187-192.

middle and the second half of the 1st century B.C. such as the much discussed names: Vonones, Gondophernes, Azes and Azilises, to which the name of Maues must now be added, as we have just seen.

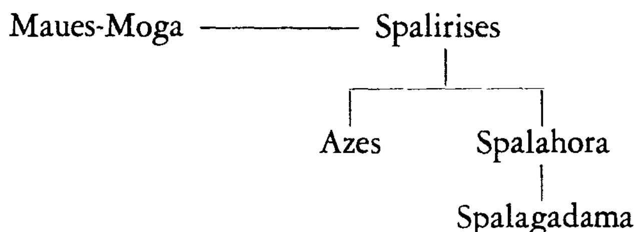
On the reverse side of his coins Vonones mentions Spalahora and his son Spalagadama: "MAHARAJABHRATA DHRAMIKASA ŚPALAHORASA" or "ŚPALAHORAPUTRASA DHRAMIASA ŚPALAGADAMASA". HERZFELD thought [76]) that Spalahora indicated himself on his coins as brother of Azes, not of Vonones, because THOMAS [77]) and CUNNINGHAM [78]) had described a coin of Vonones on the reverse side of which Azes was mentioned. SMITH, however, has shown already long ago that this is not correct and that the coin is really one of Maues [79]). But HERZFELD, relying on CUNNINGHAM, gave the following family-relationship:



Now there is still a group of coins of a certain Spalirises, who calls himself on some coins "MAHARAJABHRATA DHRAMIASA ŚPALIRIŚASA", and on the obverse side ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠϹ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ϹΠΑΛΙΡΙϹΟΥ. Other coins of this Spalirises indicate him as ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠϹ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ϹΠΑΛΙΡΙϹΟΥ with on the reverse side "MAHARAJASA MAHATAKASA AYASA" or as ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠΝ ΒΑϹΙΛΕѠϹ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ϹΠΑΛΙΡΙϹΟΥ and "MAHARAJASA MAHATAKASA ŚPALIRIŚASA". HERZFELD thinks that all the persons mentioned are Scythians, and that this Spalirises is a brother of Moga, alias Maues. Further, that the title "king's brother" appertains to the father of the crown prince [80]) and that

76) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, Berlin 1932, p. 95.
77) E. THOMAS, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Cabinet of the late Col. Stacy, with the estimated prices attached, J.A.S.B.,* vol. 27, 1858, pp. 251-260, esp. p. 252.
78) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Sakas, Class B: Coins of the Sakas or Sacae-Scythians, Num. Chron.,* 3rd series, vol. X, 1890, p. 107, note 4.
79) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, Z.D.M.G.,* vol. 60, 1906, pp. 49-72, esp. p. 61, note 2.
80) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, pp. 94 seq.

therefore Spalirises' son Azes by matriarchy is the future king during Maues' reign. In that case the genealogical tree would be as follows:



A last argument against HERZFELD's representation of affairs is the fact that, as we will see further on, Spalirises restrikes coins of Spalahora, Spalirises' son according to HERZFELD. This seems quite unacceptable on psychological grounds and moreover the king who remints coins always reigns after the monarch whose coins he restrikes. As well as on the mistake of THOMAS and CUNNINGHAM, HERZFELD bases his conclusion also on what RAPSON (who thinks that Spalahora, Spalirises and Vonones are brothers) says, namely, that Spalahora, Spalirises, and their sons Spalagadama and Azes have Scythian names, Vonones, their brother and uncle, on the contrary, a Parthian one [81]). HERZFELD solves this improbability by clinging to the ethnical difference, but rejecting the family-relationship by separating Vonones from the others.

The coins of Vonones, Spalahora and Spalirises all originate from Kandahār (Arachosia), Ghazni and Seistān (Drangiāna) [82]). Those of Azes, on the contrary, are found in large quantities in the Punjāb, but not west of Jalālābād.

There are still more objections to HERZFELD's point of view that Maues and Azes were Scythians than those which we have brought forward to prove that Maues was a Parthian, among others, that Azes also seems to be a Parthian, for this last person mentions

81) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 573-574; see also O. G. VON WESENDONK, *Kūšān, Chioniten und Hephthaliten, Klio,* Band 26, Leipzig 1933, pp. 336-346.

82) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Sakas, Class B: Coins of the Sakas or Sacae-Scythians, Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. X, 1890, p. 106.

Aśpavarma on his coins just as Gondophernes does. Now it is impossible to accept the fact, as is generally done, that Gondophernes, who undoubtedly was a Parthian, should have taken into his service as his strategist the Indian Aśpavarma from Azes, a Śaka [83]). This supposition is, in our opinion, quite unacceptable in the case of these two hostile races. Only when we accept the fact that Azes and Gondophernes were both Parthians, and that Gondophernes immediately succeeded Azes, we are able to understand that they employed the same general. Moreover, we wish to remark that this Aśpavarma was probably not an Indian, as is generally accepted [84]). His name is clearly Iranian; if he were an Indian his name would have been Aśvavarma.

Altogether there seems to us to be too many objections to keep tenaciously to HERZFELD's scheme of a Scythian family, the members of which would be: Maues, Spalahora, Spalirises, Spalagadama and Azes, and on the other hand the Parthians: Vonones, Orthagnes and Gondophernes. Just as unlikely it seems to us to believe that Spalirises is Spalahora's father, and that Spalahora is the brother of Azes. RAPSON [85]) thinks with WHITEHEAD [86]) that Spalahora and Spalirises were Vonones' brothers, while Spalagadama and Azes were his nephews. KONOW, if we understand him rightly, distinguishes yet another person, Spalyris [87]). About the three persons, Spalahora, Spalirises and Spalyris, two of which are taken to be brothers of Vonones, or the father and the brother of Azes, we should like to make the following remarks: Firstly, it is clear that Spalahora and Spalyris, mentioned on a number of coins as independent rulers, are one and the same person. This is apparent from the legends on three coins:

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83) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* vol. I, p. 94.

84) Ibidem and V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, Z.D.M.G.,* vol. 60, 1906, pp. 67-69; A. VON GUTSCHMID, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden,* Tübingen 1888, p. 107.

85) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.,* vol. I, pp. 573-574.

86) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* vol. I, p. 92.

87) *Corpus,* p. XLIII.

1st obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ
reverse: MAHARAJABHRATA DHRAMIKASA ŚPALAHORASA.
2nd obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ
reverse: ŚPALAHORAPUTRASA DHRAMIASA ŚPALAGADAMASA.
3rd obverse: ϹΠΑΛΥΡΙΟϹ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ
reverse: ŚPALAHORAPUTRASA DHRAMIASA ŚPALAGADAMASA.

On the third coin the legends are a combination of those on the reverse of the two first-mentioned coins. The nominative of the name is therefore Σπαλυρις or Spalahora.

Besides Spalahora, alias Spalyris, we find the name of a ruler who independently minted his own coins: Spalirises. He restruck coins of Spalahora, alias Spalyris, which originally bore the following legends:

obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ
reverse: MAHARAJABHRATA DHRAMIKASA ŚPALAHORASA.

Spalirises therefore comes after Spalahora, and that probably very quickly. Now the equivalent in the Prakrit of the genitive Σπαλιρισου reads "Śpaliriśasa" on the coin; the nominative therefore is "Spaliriśa", corresponding to Σπαλιρισης. Now this "Śpaliriśa" or "Spalirisa" is, in our opinion, simply the indianised form of Σπαλυρις. Writing υ as *i* can, we think, be no objection [88]). Consequently Σπαλυρις, Σπαλιρισης, Spalahora and Spalirisa are different ways of writing one and the same name. It now also becomes clear, why "Spalirises" restrikes coins of "Spalahora": From the position of "king's brother" he becomes independent ruler and he changes his coins issued during Vonones' reign to others of his own.

We probably should suppose the situation then to be approximately this: While Maues is king in the Punjāb, Vonones reigns in Kandahār as supreme king. Under him his brother Spalahora (alias Σπαλυρις, Σπαλιρισης or Spalirisa) governs as viceroy with his son Spalagadama. First Spalahora mints coins with Vonones on the obverse and calls himself his brother on the reverse. Then he strikes coins as Spalyris and Spalirisa, still calling himself Vonones'

88) See for instance E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. I, München 1939, p. 183.

brother. His son Spalagadama mentioned on the reverse disappears in the course of this period, and in his place Spalahora, now fully independent, mentions Azes or himself again on the reverse. The conformity in the legends on the coins of both persons also pleads for the identity of Spalahora with Spalirises: "MAHARAJABHRATA DHRAMIKASA ŚPALAHORASA" and MAHARAJABHRATA DHRAMIASA ŚPALIRIŚASA". This is the more convincing when we see how great the variation is in the coin-legends of these times.

Vonones issues coins together with Spalahora, and he again together with Azes. Later Azes mints independently, and these coins are, in contrast with the first-mentioned, chiefly found in the Punjāb. Archaeological discoveries show that Azes succeeded Maues there: It cannot be said whether a family-relationship existed between them or not. Presumably Azes was kin to Spalahora. SMITH supposes that he was Spalirises' son [89]). Apparently Azes became independent, and had very many coins struck, so many and of such different quality, that several scholars, including MARSHALL [90]) and RAPSON [91]) (although the first is not altogether convinced), thought that they ought to accept the possibility of an Azes I and II, and in-between, an Azilises, especially because otherwise the too great gap between Maues and Gondophernes —who according to most scholars started his reign only in 19 A.D.—could not be explained. We must, however, conclude with KONOW and HERZFELD that there can be no distinction between Azes I, Azes II, and Azilises. It seems to us that the diminutive Azilises from the name Azes can be compared with forms as Phraataces from Phraates, and Spalirises from Spalyris. Such-like diminutives often occur in Parthia [92]). In case Azes and Azilises would be two different persons, then it is incomprehensible why they, when issuing coins together, simultaneously bore equally

89) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 60, 1906, p. 61.
90) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973-986, esp. p. 979.
91) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 572.
92) F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. IX.

high titles. Thus we have coins with the following legends [93]:

obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ
reverse: MAHARAJASA RAJARAJASA MAHATASA AYASA.
obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ
reverse: MAHARAJASA RAJARAJASA MAHATASA AYILIṢASA.

Besides as Gondophernes, as we shall see, did not reign from 19 A.D.-45 A.D., as RAPSON thought, there is no need for us to fill in the gap between Azes—who, according to RAPSON, ascended the throne already in 58 B.C. [94])—and Gondophernes with an Azilises and Azes II. Further WHITEHEAD, one of the greatest authorities in this field of numismatics, although he makes a distinction between the coins of Azilises and Azes, says with regard to RAPSON's opinion that an Azes I and an Azes II existed: "The difference in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign." [95])

Recapitulating, we propose the following sequence of kings:

Vonones ——Spalahora Maues
(= Spalyris = Spalirises = Spalirisa)

? ?

Spalagadama Azes

?

Gondophernes

? = no certain family-relationship.

The date of Azes can in a measure be approximated by the fact that the square omikron, which as we saw above is met with for the first time in the period of 57-37 B.C., is not found on the coins

93) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 132.
94) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 572 and 577.
95) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 93.

of Maues, so that this last king must therefore have lived before or about 57 B.C. Azes, therefore, must have reigned in the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. This tallies with the information gained from the strata of Taxila from which Sir JOHN MARSHALL not only deduced that Azes' coins immediately follow those of Maues, but also that they date from the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. [96]). Therefore Azes must have reigned almost contemporary with or a little later than Orodes, e.g. about the years 50-30 B.C. Now it so happens, that just on some of Azes' coins the square omikron appears, which would tally excellently with the date suggested. Another argument is the fact that the coins of Spalirises (so, the latest coins of Spalahora), on which the square omikron also appears, show a great similarity to the coins of Hermaeus, one of the very last Greek kings in Kābul. This Hermaeus, according to TARN, reigned about 50-30 B.C.: "... it is also certain that Hermaeus did not live till A.D. 25 or anywhere near it..." [97]) and "...he cannot well have come to the throne later than c. 50 B.C. or died before 30 B.C." [98])

Our conclusion, therefore, must be that Azes must have reigned about that time, for instance 50-30 B.C. In connection with this it is interesting just to point out that KONOW thought he was able to distinguish in the inscription of Shahdaur (in the first line of which "Ayasa" can be read), the date 102, or 80 and still something illegible or 90, and again an undecipherable unit, so that the inscription dates from the period 80 to 102 of the old era. This calculation would give us: 49 to 27 B.C., and therefore coincides with the period suggested above for other reasons.

Let us now consider whether this date for Azes tallies with other information. We noticed already that the coins of Spalahora, who, judging by the coins is partly contemporary with Azes, are indeed a type copied from Hermaeus of about 50-30 B.C. According to the genealogy Vonones must have reigned somewhat earlier. This also tallies wholly with the information gained from his coinage, for they display exclusively the round omikron, so that we can fix the

96) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973-986, esp. p. 977.

97) TARN, p. 338.

98) TARN, p. 497.

date of Vonones somewhere between the years 60-50 B.C. When RAPSON made known his pleasing discovery about the epoch in which the square omikron appeared, he made an exception for this rule with regard to the coins of Vonones: "...it appears that this epigraphical test cannot be applied in this particular instance, since the square form seems not to occur in connection with these types until much later." [99]) A propos of this KONOW thought that the rule about the square omikron was worthless [100]). The two types of coins struck by Vonones are the type of Demetrius' "Heracles standing", and the type of Heliocles' "Zeus standing". In the first type we notice the appearance of the square omikron only on the coins of Hermaeus issued together with Kujūla Kadphises. In the second type the square omikron appears on the various coins of Gondophernes with the "standing Zeus" but not on this type of coins issued by his predecessors.

RAPSON made the exception to the rule about the square omikron, because he thought that Gondophernes reigned only from 19-45 A.D. [101]) and that Kujūla Kadphises who succeeded him reigned about the middle of the 1st century A.D. [102]). As we have seen, and further on shall still see, these kings reigned already in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., so that there is not one single reason to say that the rule about the appearance of the square omikron does not apply to the types of coins used by Vonones, and we might consequently accept ± 50 B.C. as "terminus ante quem" for Vonones. So one thing and another tallies with the dates proposed by us for the kings Azes, Spalahora and Vonones. Moreover, by this the rule about the square omikron appears to be confirmed on every point.

After Azes Gondophernes ascends the throne. He immediately follows Azes, because he has the same general Aśpavarma, son of Indravarma [103]) in his service, as appears from his coins. Ar-

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99) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 573.

100) *Corpus*, p. XLII.

101) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 576-577.

102) Ibidem, p. 562.

103) For more details about this family see R. B. WHITEHEAD, *The Dynasty of the General Aspavarma, Num. Chron.* 6th series, vol. IV, London 1944, pp. 99-104.

chaeological strata also point to an immediate sequence. Perhaps they are relatives, and we might suppose ± 30 - ± 15 B.C. as an approximate date for Gondophernes. The only available inscription mentioning him, is that of Takht-i-Bāhī [104]) of the year 103 = 26 B.C. which corresponds exactly with our just expressed supposition regarding his time.

The year 26 mentioned in this inscription might refer to the years of Gondophernes' dynasty, and in that case Maues or Vonones could have begun to reign in 77 = 52 B.C. That the principal date in this piece is 103, in our opinion, can be taken from the fact that month and day are written after it and not after 26. Furthermore "year" is here indicated as *sambatsara,* which was always the custom in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of this time, while after the date 26 *vaṣe* is written, by which it was evidently distinguished from another kind of year.

Finally, concerning Gondophernes' government, we are able to make out from his coins that he ruled over the territory of Azes as well as over that of Vonones, id est the Punjāb and Arachosia [105]). We do not know whether he brought this great kingdom under his sway only by conquest. It is clear, however, that altogether Gondophernes was the mightiest king of this Parthian dynasty. In concurrence with this is the fact that exactly his name appears to be known in the far West in the first centuries A.D. [106]).

Now we still owe an explanation for our conviction that Gondophernes reigned so much earlier than is generally accepted. Nearly all historians follow RAPSON's opinion, that this king reigned from 19 until about 45 A.D. They build this opinion entirely on one piece of information, namely the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, the value of which we shall consider more closely further on. HERZFELD thinks that Gondophernes was supreme king from 20-65 A.D. "Er hat mindestens 40 Jahre geherrscht".[107]) He believes his name is mentioned in a western source, viz. the

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104) *Corpus,* pp. 57-62.

105) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, Z.D.M.G.,* vol. 60, 1906, p. 65.

106) See pp. 352-355.

107) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, Berlin 1932, p. 104, see also p. 105.

Romance of PHILOSTRATUS about the life of Apollonius of Tyana [108]), in which is related that in the time of Apollonius, that is, in the middle of the 1st century A.D., a Phraotes ruled in Taxila, who paid tribute to the barbarians of the North. HERZFELD states that the name "Phraotes" could be the same as the word *apratihata*, which appears on the coins of Gondophernes, and consequently the Phraotes in PHILOSTRATUS' Romance is the same person as Gondophernes. This seems to us quite impossible, in spite of TARN's adhesion to it [109]). There is nothing which linguistically justifies the identification of "Phraotes" with "apratihata", and it is more probable that the name "Phraotes" is the same as one of the two very often occurring Parthian names Phraátes (id est Frahāta) or Phraórtes (id est Frawarti) [110]). The only conclusion which we might perhaps be able to draw from the communication of PHILOSTRATUS could be that ± 45 A.D. semi-independent kings still resided at Taxila.

Another western source, the *Excerpta Latina Barbari,* appears, however, to have preserved the name of Gondophernes, viz. as Gathaspar or Gathaspa [111]), id est Gaspar, Caspar the Indian, one of the three kings of the Christmas tale [112]). We do not dare, however, to use this argument to fix the date of Gondophernes about the time of the birth of Christ. The only thing that can be

108) 2, 26; 78. PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana,* with an English translation by F. C. CONYBEARE, vol. I, London 1927, pp. 183 seq.

109) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, 1932, p. 101, note 1; TARN, p. 341.

110) See W. PAPE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen,* vol. III of the *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,* Braunschweig 1850, 2nd ed., p. 411 and F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* Marburg 1895, pp. 101-103 and 105.

111) In Appendix VI to *Eusebii Chronica,* ed. A. SCHOENE, Berlin 1875, vol. I, p. 228; J. J. SCALIGER, *Thesaurus Temporum, Excerpta ex Africani Pentabiblo et Eusebii priore parte Canonum Chronicorum omnimodae historiae, homine barbaro collectore et interprete ineptissimo, utilissima alioquin, et bonae frugis refertissima, nunc primum edita,* 1st ed., Leyden 1606, p. 67; 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1658, p. 81.

112) See A. VON GUTSCHMID, *Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, Rheinisches Museum für Philol.,* Neue Folge, vol. XIX, Frankfurt a.M. 1864, pp. 161-183 and 380-401; also, in *Kleine Schriften,* vol. II, Leipzig 1890, pp. 332-394 (ed. FRANZ RÜHL); F. JUSTI, *Miscellen zur iranischen Namenkunde, Z.D.M.G.,* vol. 49, 1895, pp. 681-691, esp. p. 688.

said on this ground is that the name Gondophernes had apparently penetrated to the Near East of the early Christians (Syria and Armenia), and that it gave the early Fathers of the Church an association with distant India.

In our opinion, just as much or as little historical value can be attached to that other early Christian source, the legend of St. Thomas, the Syrian original of which dates from the 3rd century A.D.; REINAUD [113]), and not CUNNINGHAM [114]) as is always maintained [115]), was the first to recognize already in 1849, in the name Γουνδαφόρος [116]) of the Indian king into whose service St. Thomas entered, the name "Gondophernes" of the coins. We have no doubt whatever about the exactness of this identification; yet it does not seem to be justifiable to us, on the grounds of such a legendary communication only put into writing centuries later, to draw the historical conclusion that consequently Gondophernes must have lived in the fourth decade of the 1st century A.D. [117]).

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113) J. T. REINAUD, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde, antérieurement au milieu du XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne, Mémoire de l'académie nationale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, tome XVIII, 2e partie, Paris 1849, p. 95.

114) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek Inscriptions, J.A.S.B.*, vol. 23, 1854, pp. 679-714.

115) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes. III. Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo, J.A.*, 1897, 9e série, tome IX, pp. 27-42, esp. p. 27; H. KEHRER, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig 1908-'09, vol. I, p. 69.

116) *Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi*, vol. I, *Acta Thomae*, ed. M. BONNET, Leipzig 1883, pp. 2, 3, 14 and 19.

117) GARBE has the same point of view: "Die genannten ausländischen Gelehrten haben dabei nicht bemerkt, dass sie Opfer eines Trugschlusses geworden sind. Sie haben daraus, dass der König der Thomas-Legende historisch ist, ohne weiteres den Schluss gezogen, dass auch das Apostolat des Thomas in dem Reiche dieses Königs historisch sei, und übersehen, wie ausserordentlich häufig es vorkommt, dass in Legenden, hinter denen niemand einen geschichtlichen Vorgang vermuten wird, eine aus der Geschichte bekannte Persönlichkeit — insbesondere ein König — auftritt", R. GARBE, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen 1914, p. 135; "Vor dem dritten Jahrhundert hat es keinenfalls Christen in den indischen Grenzgebieten gegeben", ibidem, p. 143. See about this subject pp. 128-159. L. DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN says, when discussing this question: "Une critique rigoureuse ne retiendra que l'identification de Gudafara avec le roi indien des Actes; indice trop faible pour étayer une lourde thèse. La légende fut élaborée dans un milieu où on savait quelque chose de l'Inde", *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*, Paris 1930, p. 280. See also

The only thing that can be said again, is that the name of Gondophernes was already known in the West in the 3rd century A.D., and that the Indian association with his name was the cause that he was connected with the legend of St. Thomas. Probably the phenomenon that legendary persons of different times become contemporaries again crops up here.

The (mistaken) conclusion, drawn from the St. Thomas Acts, that Gondophernes must have lived ± 40 A.D. was the cause that a great gap was created between him and Azes, which scholars tried to fill up by accepting an Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, which now appears to be unnecessary.

Further it is clear that earlier archaeologists then tried to bring the date 103 of the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī, in which Gondophernes is mentioned, into agreement with the (incorrect) date of the reign of Gondophernes, which was accepted on grounds of the St. Thomas Acts. The era, used in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription must then have had its beginning about 57 B.C. and so the conclusion was obvious to identify this era with the Vikrama era which just began in that year. This reasoning has always been the most important argument in favour of the identification of the old era as the Vikrama era [118]). The year 26 mentioned in the inscription would indicate that Gondophernes was already governing for 26 years, so that this covers a period from 19 A.D. to 45 A.D. [119]).

We see from this course of affairs, how, on the grounds of the mistaken conclusion drawn from the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, the use of the Vikrama era by the Parthian kings came to be supposed. After all we have said about the use of this era by the Scythian rulers it is not necessary to make any addition to it con-

P. PEETERS' review of DAHLMANN, *Die Thomas-Legende, Analecta Bollandiana,* vol. XXXII, Bruxelles 1913, pp. 75-77. The two Jesuits J. DAHLMANN and A. VÄTH have tried to show that the St. Thomas Acts are historically quite reliable. J. DAHLMANN, *Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum fernen Osten,* Freiburg im Breisgau 1912; A. VÄTH, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens, eine Untersuchung über den historischen Gehalt der Thomas-Legende,* Aachen 1925.

118) J. F. FLEET, *St. Thomas and Gondophernes, J.R.A.S.,* 1905, pp. 223-236; by the same author *The Date in the Takht-i-Bahi Inscription, J.R.A.S.,* 1906, pp. 706-711; E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins,* § 62, p. 15.

119) See for instance E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.,* vol. I, pp. 576-577.

cerning the Parthian kings. The era of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is, we think, no exception to the rule and therefore the era used in it is the old era, so that the inscription, in our opinion, dates from the year 26 B.C.

As well as the already before mentioned arguments for this earlier date for Gondophernes, there are still others: In the coin-legends of Gondophernes we find namely, next to the round omikron a square omikron [120]). This is a distinct proof that we must date this king not long after the year 40 B.C. for although the square omikron appears for the first time on the Parthian coins of Orodes II, 57-37 B.C., we are of the opinion that, on the other hand, this fashion did not last very long. The coins of Kujūla Kadphises still display both forms of the omikron, but on those of Wima, as far as we have been able to trace, the square omikron was no longer used but exclusively the round form, so that in the time of Kujūla Kadphises, ± 25 B.C. to ± 35 A.D., the square omikron must have fallen into disuse. The square omikron therefore was employed for a very limited space of time, and, indeed only from ± 40 B.C. until about the beginning of our era. The appearance of the square omikron on Gondophernes' latest coins we would like to use as another argument against dating him about 40 A.D., or even as HERZFELD will have it, 60 A.D. Moreover, it is not clear how the Parthian kings who reigned after Gondophernes can still be fitted into the scheme of time after ± 40, or even 60 A.D., and be contemporary with or even before Kujūla Kadphises, when we assume with KONOW that Wima started the Śaka era of 78 A.D.

Further the fact that one of Gondophernes' titles on his coins is ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ might point to a fairly early date of this king, as WROTH says that this title is only found on coins of monarchs reigning in the centuries B.C. [121]).

Finally yet one last argument in favour of our opinion of Gondophernes' date and at the same time a proof of the unreliability of

120) E. J. RAPSON, *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, part V, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 285-312, esp. p. 285.

121) W. WROTH, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, London 1903, p. XXX.

the Acta of St. Thomas: After Gondophernes Abdagases reigned who, on the coins issued by Gondophernes together with him, is clearly indicated as his nephew [122]). CUNNINGHAM thought already in 1890 [123]) of bringing this Abdagases in connection with the person having an almost similar name, Abdagaeses, mentioned by TACITUS in *Annales* VI, 36, where the events in the year 35 A.D. are related in which Abdagaeses and his son Sinnaces played a part. CUNNINGHAM combines these data with those conveyed by the Indian coins in such a way, that he takes Sinnaces, the son of Abdagaeses in TACITUS, to be the father of the Abdagases of the coins, and thus at the same time a brother of Gondophernes. HERZFELD agrees with this last, but wants Abdagases to be the son of Guḍaṇa, whom he believes to be mentioned on the coins of Gondophernes, and whom he takes to be a brother-in-law of Gondophernes [124]). VÄTH thinks Gad or Guḍaṇa is Gondophernes' brother [125]). KONOW has, in consequence of a suggestion by FLEET, convincingly shown that this "Guḍaṇa" is an adjective derived from "Guḍa", just as "Kuṣāṇa" from "Kuṣa", so that we must consider "Guḍaṇa" as a pedigree-indication of Gondophernes in the style of "Kuṣāṇa" [126]). Moreover, the fact that on the reverse of some of Orthagnes' coins Guḍaṇa in stead of Gondophernes is mentioned, gives another proof in our opinion for this view as we will see further on when discussing the Orthagnes coins [127]). Consequently this last point of HERZFELD's theory, viz. that Gondophernes had a brother-in-law Guḍaṇa, is not proved. It is, moreover, not clear what gives CUNNINGHAM and HERZFELD the right to make Sinnaces the brother of Gondophernes, and to suppose two persons named Abdagases in the place of one. The explanation for this strange

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122) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum,* p. 107.

123) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Sakas, Class B: Coins of the Sakas or Sacae-Scythians, Num. Chron.,* 3rd series, vol. X, 1890, p. 119.

124) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, pp. 79-80.

125) A. VÄTH, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens, eine Untersuchung über den historischen Gehalt der Thomas-Legende,* pp. 29 and 77.

126) *Corpus,* p. XLVI.

127) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* vol. I, p. 155.

conception of TACITUS' text is as follows: The date of Gondophernes founded on the legend of St. Thomas does not tally with the Roman source, and so another Abdagases was added. It seems to us, however, to be more advisable, if we must choose between the trustworthiness of the St. Thomas Acts and that of TACITUS, to give preference to the latter, as this author had at his disposal very authentic sources and the relative trustworthiness of TACITUS' writings is universally recognized. The data we have at our service and on which we can build up the history of this time, are as follows:

According to TACITUS, there lives in 35 A.D. an Abdagaeses, who has a grown-up son Sinnaces. In India we have coins of Gondophernes who partly issues coins together with his nephew Abdagases, who also independently strikes coins with the legends "GUDUPHARABHRATAPUTRASA MAHARAJASA TRATARASA AVADAGAŚASA" and "MAHARAJASA RAJATIRAJASA GADAPHARABHRATAPUTRASA AVADAGAŚASA". The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from these data is, we think, that Abdagaeses of TACITUS and of the coins must be one and the same person. If Abdagaeses was an old man in 35 A.D., then the time when he took part in the government as viceroy, as a rather young man, at the end of Gondophernes' reign, must be about 10 B.C. Consequently the reign of Gondophernes must have been about 30-10 B.C., which we already have suggested on other grounds. With these arguments for a reign of Gondophernes earlier than is generally supposed, we will now leave this subject.

There is, however, still one point which we should like to touch upon in connection with this king. A number of coins of the type "standing Nikè", such as was used by Gondophernes has been found, but with the following legend:

obverse: BACIΛEYC BACIΛEΩN MEΓAC OPΘAΓNHC
reverse: MAHARAJASA RAJATIRAJASA MAHATASA GUDUPHARASA GUḌANA.

According to HERZFELD [128]) this Orthagnes (which name is equivalent to Verethragna) must be the anonymous person mentioned

128) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, pp. 102-104.

by TACITUS in *Annales* XIII, 7: In 55-58 A.D. a son of Vardanes rises up against Vologases I. This "filius Vardanis" without a name would then be the same as Orthagnes [129]), under whom Gondophernes, according to HERZFELD, struck coins as viceroy. We do not see any foundation for this hypothesis. Firstly, the text is here perhaps unreliable. NIPPERDEY-ANDRESEN suspects that it must be "filius Vardanes", so that the person in question, did, in fact, possess a name [130]). As HERZFELD himself remarks: "... sind die Orthagnes-Münzen denen von Gundopharrs Nachfolger Pakores so ähnlich, dass die Rückseiten ohne Lesen der Inschrift nicht zu unterscheiden sind. Die Orthagnes-Münzen stammen also fraglos aus den späten Jahren Gundopharrs." [131]) Should HERZFELD's theory be correct, then the great King Gondophernes would have been at the end of his reign a viceroy to another Parthian king, Orthagnes. RAPSON believes Gondophernes succeeded Orthagnes [132]), while JUSTI [133]), OTTO [134]), and SCHUR [135]) believe they were brothers. To us these hypotheses do not seem very probable. If a humiliation as HERZFELD proposes could have befallen Gondophernes, then it was more likely to come from the Kuṣāṇas than from the Parthian side. Moreover, it is definitely strange that Orthagnes and Gondophernes bear equally high titles on both sides of the coins. This was also the case with Azes and Azilises, and convinces us that presumably we have here again two different names for one and the same person. This time the two names are not so similar as was the

129) E. HERZFELD, ibidem, p. 103.

130) "... hätte Tacitus einen solchen (viz. filius Vardanis) genannt, so würde er dessen eigenen Namen angegeben haben", NIPPERDEY-ANDRESEN, 2nd ed., Berlin 1855, p. 75. W. SCHUR believes the text to be correct, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero, Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte,* Beiheft XV (Neue Folge, Heft II), Leipzig 1923, p. 73.

131) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran,* Band IV, p. 103.

132) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 578.

133) F. JUSTI, *Geschichte Irans, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sāsāniden, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,* herausgegeben von W. GEIGER und E. KUHN, Band II, Strassburg 1896-1904, pp. 395-550, esp. p. 507.

134) W. OTTO, s.v. *Hyndopherres,* PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* vol. IX, Stuttgart 1916, col. 183-191, esp. p. 191.

135) W. SCHUR, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero, Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte,* Beiheft XV (Neue Folge, Heft II), Leipzig 1923, p. 77.

case with Azes and Azilises. We might be able to explain this by supposing that "Orthagnes" was a surname or title of Gondophernes [136]). It seems to us that we can make this more acceptable. "Gondophernes" corresponds to the Persian "Vindapharna", which signifies "the winner of majestic glory" [137]). "Orthagnes" is the graecized form of the Persian "Verethragna", meaning "the victorious", so that both names, in our opinion, point in the same direction and the Nikè figure on Gondophernes' coins is perhaps a symbolic emphasis of this surname. Such parallels of person's names occur in the whole field of Greater-Indian culture [138]).

Confirming this idea, and at the same time in connection with the foregoing, we should like, moreover, to suggest concerning the *apratihata* (which HERZFELD identified with the name "Phraotes" of the king whom Apollonius of Tyana found in Taxila about the middle of the 1st century B.C.) that it is the Sanskrit equivalent of Gondophernes' title "Orthagnes": "Apratihata" means "the irresistible", "the undefeated", "the triumphant". Earlier already this epitheton ornans had been used on coins, "inter alia" by Lysias (who writes ANIKHTOΣ as an equivalent on the reverse) and still later by Rājūvula in the compound *apratihatacakra* [139]) which obviously proves that HERZFELD's opinion about this word is incorrect. The epitheton Verethragna continues to exist at the Sas-

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136) After this had been written down we found that KONOW also thought that the two names concerned one and the same person.

137) Noteworthy, because it is curious, is CUNNINGHAM's explanation of the name "Gondophernes" as "Gāṇḍa-phor", i.e. "sugarcane-crusher". CUNNINGHAM arrived at this peculiar opinion on grounds of the fact that the channels for the cane-juice of a sugar-mill are chiselled in the same form as the Gondophernes-monograph . See A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek Inscriptions, J.A.S.B.*, vol. 23, 1854, pp. 679-714, esp. p. 712.

138) The different names of King Candragupta II give a nice instance of this: Vikramāditya, Ajitavikrama, Vikramāṅka, Siṃhavikrama, Siṃhacandra, Devagupta, Devaśrī, Devarāja, see L. DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka,* Paris 1935, p. 47. Our attention was drawn to this list by Prof. GONDA. Another instance is the consecration-names of King Kṛtanagara of Singasari: Jñānaśivabajra, Jñānabajreśvara and Jñāneśvarabajra, see N. J. KROM, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis,* 2nd ed., Den Haag 1931, p. 341.

139) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum,* pp. 29 and 67.

sanian court for some time as the coronation-name of different kings. The coins mentioned on which Gondophernes calls himself Orthagnes must, in our opinion, have been struck at the end of his reign. Not only because they, as HERZFELD already remarked, strikingly resemble those of Gondophernes' successor, Pakura, but also because the round form of sigma c which appears on them represents the last stage of the development which this character undergoes (see textfig. 29 on p. 378).

Resuming, we see therefore, that we need not suppose the confused situation of Gondophernes as viceroy of an unknown Orthagnes. This again supports our belief that Guḍaṇa is a pedigree-indication, for we see that coins with Orthagnes on the obverse mention Guḍaṇa on the reverse.

If Abdagases succeeded Gondophernes in his Indian domains, then this was not for long, for his coins are scarce. Another Parthian king, Pakura, Πακορης, issues coins, just as Gondophernes did, with the General Sasa, a relative of Aśpavarma [140]), and he therefore probably immediately succeeds Gondophernes as independent king. Abdagases was perhaps driven out by Pakura to the West, where he is mentioned by TACITUS.

Possibly we find already under Gondophernes the Kuṣāṇas in the Punjāb, for Kujūla Kadphises seems, according to KONOW, to be mentioned in the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī in 103 = 26 B.C. as Kapa erjhuna, so, as a young prince. In 122 = 7 B.C. there is no longer any doubt about this and we find him as lord and master in Panjtār, and apparently the Kuṣāṇas have taken over the territory west of the Indus from the Parthians, be it perhaps only for a short time. In 136 or 7 A.D. we find Kujūla Kadphises also in Taxila, on the other bank of the Indus, as appears from the silver scroll of that year discovered there. Afterwards we only hear again of the Kuṣāṇas in the inscription of Khalatse of 187 = 58 A.D. in which Wima Kadphises is mentioned. It is quite probable that in the intermediate period the Kuṣāṇas had only nominal power over these North Indian territories, especially on the east side of

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140) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *The Dynasty of the General Aspavarma, Num. Chron.*, 6th series, vol. IV, 1944, pp. 99-104.

the Indus. The *Hou han shu* remarks very emphatically that Wima Kadphises in his turn conquered T'ien-chu; which Indian territory is meant does not matter here. It seems therefore that a previous decline of Kuṣāṇa power had taken place, and this is in accordance with the information in the Romance of PHILOSTRATUS that Apollonius of Tyana still met a Parthian king Phraotes in Taxila about the middle of the 1st century A.D., who was obliged to pay tribute to the barbarians of the North. MARSHALL also presumes a temporary decline of the power of the Kuṣāṇas [141]).

Probably the person to whom this Parthian king was obliged to pay tribute was Wima Kadphises. The Parthian kings Sapedana and Satavastra, whose coins were found in Taxila, reigned, judging by these coins, in that city during the reign of Pakura and before the afore-mentioned Phraotes. It is to this period of decay of Parthian power after the mighty King Gondophernes (in which through their coins we hear about different, for the rest unknown Parthian kings), that the report of the *Periplus* refers: . . . **κατὰ νώτου μεσόγειος ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθίας Μινναγάρ· βασιλεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Πάρθων, συνεχῶς ἀλλήλους ἐκδιωκόντων.** [142])

We have seen that for different reasons Kujūla Kadphises seems to have begun his career in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. There are still several other arguments to be advanced for this. First of all the fact that Kujūla Kadphises struck coins with Hermaeus. When discussing this argument we can, at the same time, make it clear how careful one must be in drawing conclusions. KONOW, proceeding from the fact that FAN YE *seems* to mention only incidents later than 25 A.D., and thinking in connection with his theory regarding the commencement of Kaniṣka's reign, that Kujūla Kadphises therefore at the earliest could have *begun* his career only after 25 A.D., and stating that Kujūla Kadphises issued coins together with Hermaeus, concludes that Hermaeus therefore

141) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1929-'30, pp. 55-97, esp. p. 57.

142) **Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης**, ed. HJALMAR FRISK, *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, vol. XXXIII, Göteborg 1927, § 38, p. 13.

reigned until about 30 A.D.[143]). RAPSON, however, thought that Hermaeus reigned about 40 B.C.[144]). TARN also, on the grounds of his data about the Greek kings, concludes a date for Hermaeus of before 48 until ± 30 B.C.[145]). Starting from this point TARN, attaching belief to KONOW's theory that Kujūla Kadphises only began to reign in 25 A.D., concluded that the "joint issue" of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises is impossible, and that Kujūla Kadphises only imitated the coins, because he was a relative of Hermaeus, and at the same time hoped to get the Greeks who lived in his country to side with him against the Parthians. The one reason seems to us to be even more fantastic than the other[146]); the more so, as usurpation or a joint rule is always accepted in the case of a "joint issue". An exception would have to be made to this, and so it would have to be assumed then, that Kujūla Kadphises imitated, for such a far-fetched reason, the coins of a Greek king who reigned at least 55 years before him. TARN himself apparently feels the weakness of his argument, judging by his last words: "The old belief that these coins were a joint issue of Hermaeus and Kadphises I has in consequence been universally abandoned, for it is recognised that a considerable interval of time separated the two kings; *but nothing else has taken its place.*"[147]) Indeed there is nothing that can bridge over the gap of 55 or more years, and it appears to us that it is unwise to attack violently the now once for all clearly evident "joint issue". We must therefore choose between the calculations of TARN about the date of Hermaeus based on his other data about the Greek kings in Bactria and India, and the theory of KONOW about the com-

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143) *Corpus*, p. XLII.

144) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 562.

145) TARN, pp. 326 and 497.

146) TARN, pp. 339, 343 and Appendix 17. Even for E. BAZIN-FOUCHER who generally has great praise for TARN's theories—witness her expression: "simplement grace au don de divination qu'il a reçu du ciel et qui est la sorte de génie des historiens", this representation of affairs is too much. In her review of *The Greeks in Bactria and India* in *J.A.*, tome 230, 1938, pp. 501-528, she says on page 518: "... ces hypothèses ... n'emportent plus la conviction du lecteur."

147) TARN, pp. 338-339. Italicized by us.

mencement of Kujūla Kadphises' career which connects with his whole hypothesis about the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign. It seems to us then, that our choice, without hesitation, must fall upon the first. Against KONOW's hypothesis sufficient arguments have been advanced in the preceding pages, and the calculations of TARN in so far as they concern the Greek kings tally nearly always excellently with our outline of the history of the Scythians, unless he again seeks support from KONOW as in this case.

Consequently Kujūla Kadphises' reign, in our opinion, connects directly with that of Hermaeus which, we believe, ended about 25 B.C. Accordingly Kujūla Kadphises began his career at the beginning of the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. (and this would confirm KONOW's opinion that he is mentioned in the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī of the year 103 = 26 B.C. as a young prince). Moreover the evidence of the discoveries at Taxila affirms that Kujūla Kadphises was partly contemporary with and partly later than Gondophernes and succeeded him at that place [148]). As Kujūla Kadphises probably did not conquer Taxila at the beginning of his career we are justified in saying that this monarch started on his career somewhere about 25 B.C.

In connection with the shortly before discussed joint issue of Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus we must now bring forward the following. MARSHALL remarks in one of his reports [149]) that a remarkable fact came to light during his excavations, viz. that in Taxila he found many coin-specimens of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises as well as the joint issue type, in strata dating after Gondophernes, and also in strata of "the early half of the first century B.C." (This last must undoubtedly be a misprint: "B.C." instead of "A.D.", for elsewhere in the article coins of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises are mentioned as of "the early half of the first century A.D.".) The for MARSHALL seemingly inexplicableness and absurdity of coins of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises of the first half of the 1st century A.D. and at the same time after

148) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 562.
149) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1929-'30, pp. 55-97, esp. p. 56.

Gondophernes, is for us who date Gondophernes at the end of the 1st century B.C. nothing more than a plea for our conception.

But numismatics provide still more arguments. It is a generally known fact that many gold Roman coins have been found in India. They were the legal tender of merchants from the West, who, taking advantage of the monsoons, came to buy spices and other valuable articles in India. These Roman coins date for the greater part from the time of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. The series of coins after this breaks off suddenly, and therefore the coins date chiefly from the reign of Augustus, until and including Nero, id est 27 B.C. until 68 A.D. This phenomenon made SCHUR remark that the Julian coins seem to have had a high value in India [150]). THIEL ingeniously explained this sudden break in the stream of Roman coins by the depreciation of the money under Nero [151]). The silver money was alloyed and the gold lessened in weight.

Now we have many gold coins of Wima Kadphises and the kings after him. The gold standard was imitated from the Roman aureus which was instituted by Augustus. KENNEDY formerly doubted whether the standard of the Indian coins was indeed that of Augustus [152]). His argumentation was, however, not at all convincing and very weak, so that it has been refuted by many. It is obvious that the motive to mint gold coins under Wima Kadphises must be sought for in the enormous influx of Roman coins between the years 27 B.C. until 68 A.D. A copper coin of Kujūla Kadphises [153]) with the representation of the king's head proves that

150) W. SCHUR, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero. Klio,* Beiheft XV (Neue Folge, Heft II), 1923, p. 57.

151) J. H. THIEL, *Eudoxus van Cyzicus (Een hoofdstuk uit de Geschiedenis van de Vaart op Indië en de Vaart om de Zuid in de Oudheid), Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen,* Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 2, N° 8, Amsterdam 1939, p. 266.

152) J. KENNEDY, *The Secret of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1912, pp. 665-688 and 981-1019, esp. pp. 996-1001; and by the same author *Kanishka's Greek, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 121-124; *Sidelights on Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 369-378; *Fresh Light on Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 664-669; *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 920-939. FLEET agrees with KENNEDY in *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 913-920, esp. p. 916.

153) See R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* vol. I, pl. XVII, 24.

already under this king the stream of Roman gold began to flow in. According to WHITEHEAD's description this coin is "... an unmistakable imitation of one of the early Roman Emperors" [154]), in our opinion, probably Augustus. Under Kujūla Kadphises the kingdom of the Kuṣāṇas had not yet extended so far South, so that there was yet no need of gold currency. Wima Kadphises, who greatly extended the kingdom in both a southern and a southeastern direction, thus directly or indirectly came into contact with Roman gold by way of the rich harbours on the coast trading with the Roman Empire. Trade-considerations therefore probably induced him to have coins struck in the Roman standard: If Wima Kadphises came to reign only, as KONOW thinks, in 78 A.D. or, as GHIRSHMAN thinks, ± 95 A.D., then it would be less easy to bring the above-mentioned facts into a logical agreement with each other [155]), for it would be unexplainable why Wima Kadphises imitated the standard of the Roman aureus of Augustus and his immediate successors which in the meantime had been depreciated by Nero. The standard of Wima Kadphises in that case would not tally anymore with that of the western tradesman, which would be quite impracticable.

HALOUN, who has an extremely deep insight into the intricate Scythian matters, suggested to read "Cusani" in stead of

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154) R. B. WHITEHEAD, ibidem, p. 173.

155) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* p. 131. GHIRSHMAN's observations on the influence of the monsoon-trade on the Kuṣāṇa Empire are very interesting, and deserve special attention. However, he seems to base his ideas on grounds which are not always quite correct. It is for instance not true that the monsoon-trade with India was discovered during Augustus' reign (p. 123). THIEL has convincingly proved that this important discovery was made a century earlier (J. H. THIEL, *Eudoxus van Cyzicus (Een hoofdstuk uit de Geschiedenis van de Vaart op Indië en de Vaart om de Zuid in de Oudheid), Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen,* Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 2, N° 8, esp. Appendix II: *Ontwikkeling der moessonvaart op Indië in de Oudheid,* pp. 63-82 (249-268), see also TARN, p. 369). Further the occupation of Aden did not take place under Nero (p. 125) but much earlier, probably under Augustus (THIEL, ibidem, p. 72; M. P. CHARLESWORTH, *Some Notes on the Periplus Maris Erythraei, The Classical Quarterly,* vol. XXII, 1928, pp. 92-100, esp. pp. 98-99; E. H. WARMINGTON, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India,* Cambridge 1928, pp. 15-16).

"Asiani" [156]) in the prologue to book XLII of TROGUS POMPEIUS. If this suggestion would be right—and HALOUN's high authority on these matters gives great probability to his suggestion—then we would have another valuable argument for an early date of Kujūla Kadphises, for in the passage under discussion we read the following: "Additae his res Scythicae. Reges Tocharorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum." If we substitute "Asiani" by "Cusani" we would find a confirmation in TROGUS of a fact which nobody will doubt, viz. that the Kuṣāṇas were the ruling dynasty of the Tochari. Now it is in a measure possible to date the time these Cusani became the kings of the Tochari of which the result, as it seems, was that the Sa(ca)raucae were annihilated. For the chapters in TROGUS' history follow each other in chronological sequence and the facts which he treated in chapter XLII can be dated, viz. the victory of Phraates IV over Tiridates in 27-26 B.C. and the handing back of the insignia and prisoners of war to Augustus by Phraates IV in 20 B.C. Consequently the seizure of the royal power by the Kuṣāṇas must have taken place about the middle of the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

GHIRSHMAN proposes to regard Heraus as the father of Kujūla Kadphises. Although this is a pleasing hypothesis which we would not deny "a priori", there is no convincing argument in favour of it [157]). In connection with the just mentioned passage in TROGUS he proposes to ascribe to Heraus the assumption of royal power as well as the annihilation of the Sa(ca)raucae communicated by this writer. In our opinion, however, it is obvious that the first statement of TROGUS is only a western description of what the *Hou han shu* told us, viz. that "more than a hundred years afterwards the hsi-hou of Kuei-shuang, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io, attacked and vanquished the other four hsi-hou and made himself king." There are still two other objections to GHIRSHMAN's idea. Firstly it does not seem possible that Heraus would be able to annihilate the Sa(ca)rau-

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156) G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tṣï Frage, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 91, p. 253, note 4.

157) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. 116.

cae [158]), as he was still in the dangerous position that the other four hsi-hou did not recognize him as their overlord, as GHIRSHMAN supposes, probably in order to explain the discrepancy wich according to him existed between the statements of TROGUS and the Chinese annals. Secondly it is not logical to assume that two almost similar communications would pertain to two different persons and as the Chinese annals definitely state that the name of the king in question was Kujūla Kadphises the matter appears decided. All together it seems inevitable to avoid the conclusion that this event happened, according to TROGUS, in the middle of the second half of the 1st century B.C. As to the passage "interitusque Saraucarum" we can assume two explications: 1—that one of the first things Kujūla Kadphises did after he was supreme king was to wipe out the Sa(ca)raucae. If JUNGE [159]) is right in supposing that a passage in OROSIUS (I, 2, 43) points out that the Sacaraucae were living in North India near Hindu-Kush, then the passage in TROGUS would even be a description of the first raids which the Yüeh-chih made into India under Kujūla Kadphises; 2—that the Sacaraucae were one of the five tribes governed by the five hsi-hou; but all this is of no importance in relation to the question about the date of Kujūla Kadphises.

Again another argument for Kujūla Kadphises' date is this: Should the Kadphises kings indeed have lived later than we now accept, then it is quite inexplicable why they allowed the Western Kṣatrapas, who in that case must have been their vassals in Ujjain, to use a different era than the one they used themselves [160]). This would be in conflict with the submissiveness that even a high-born vassal ought to show with respect to his feudal lord.

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158) In favour of this fact GHIRSHMAN brings forward a coin restruck with "sakarou". This need not necessarily be explained as a victory over the Sacaraucae by Heraus, it could just as well be explained as a recoinage by the Sacaraucae, perhaps after a victory of the Sacaraucae over Heraus. The recoining person is always later than the person whose coins he restrikes. Perhaps the later annihilation of the Sacaraucae is the revenge by Kujūla Kadphises for his relative (father ?)?

159) J. JUNGE, *Saka-Studien, der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike, Klio,* Beiheft 41, Neue Folge, Beiheft 28, Leipzig 1939, p. 102.

160) This is namely the conclusion to which KONOW and GHIRSHMAN must arrive, see Ch. I, p. 64 and notes 223 and 224.

Here then are about half a dozen arguments in objection to the fact that Kujūla Kadphises began his reign in the beginning of the 1st century A.D., and which point to a date for this event at the end of the 1st century B.C. KONOW's argument to date this about half a century later, rests on his opinion that Kaniṣka began to reign between 120-140 (on account of Kaniṣka's almost immediate succession after Wima Kadphises, he was forced to date Kujūla Kadphises much later than we do), and also on the fact that FAN YEH says, that he only mentions those facts which in the period from 25-55 A.D. and afterwards, were different from the fore-going period. Apparently the rise of the Kuṣāṇa kings brought a definitely striking change in the distribution of power, and FAN YEH gives considerable attention to the matter. Now the different data indicate that it was especially Wima Kadphises who so greatly extended the kingdom, which therefore became worthy of mention for the Chinese. Kujūla Kadphises probably possessed the North-West of India, but his rule was only temporary, or later on only nominal. The great expansion took place under Wima, witness the Chinese data, the discovery of his coins as far as Mathurā, and the fact that he is the first to strike gold coins. It seems to us quite comprehensible that FAN YEH, when he tells about this great change of power in the West, refers to the antecedent history beginning with Kujūla Kadphises. And *even* if it were *not* so that it was Wima who carried out the policy of the great expansion, which in our opinion is difficult to refute, even then it would only be self-evident that FAN YEH relating about the period of 25 until 55 A.D. should remind us of Kujūla Kadphises' career, as he reigned also partly in that period; to which must be added, that we need not apply the remark of FAN YEH, that he mentions only facts that were different from those before the year 25 A.D., too rigorously. For FAN YEH contradicts himself immediately when he relates facts which took place long before or after that period, viz. the defeat of the Yüeh-chih by the Hsiung-nu, the trek to Ta-hsia, the conquest of it, etc., etc. On the other hand he relates facts from

159 and 161 A.D. as THOMAS pointed out [161]), so it is clear that he does not keep to his own statement, and it therefore seems quite natural that FAN YEH tells us about the migration of the Yüeh-chih and the rise of Kujūla Kadphises.

Another point which deserves our attention is the passage in the Wei annals quoted by LÉVI [162]) and FRANKE [163]) which mentions a *king* of the Ta-yüeh-chih in 2 B.C. This clearly proves that the unification of the five hsi-hou by Kujūla Kadphises had taken place already by that time.

Again an important indication is the story told in the *Ch'ien han shu* [164]) about Chi-pin. The king of this country Yin-mo-fu killed 70 persons of the suite of a Chinese envoy, but the Chinese Emperor refused to punish the culprit which seems very unusual. Later on about 25 B.C. Chi-pin sent envoys to beg for pardon, probably being urged by danger from another side, but China refrained from help. LÉVI drew the obvious conclusion that it was the Yüeh-chih who threatened Chi-pin, and that their power induced China to refuse help [165]). We would like to add that it possibly was the Indo-Parthians which made the Chinese refrain from punishing the king of Chi-pin. Perhaps this was the period in which Hermaeus for some time was a vassal, as GHIRSHMAN suggests, of the Indo-Parthians [166]), whereas later on Hermaeus being hardly pressed by Kujūla Kadphises sought for a counter-balance with the Chinese about 25 B.C.

Next to these points there are two curious facts to which HARI

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161) F. W. THOMAS, *Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka: Tung-li, P'an-ch'i and Chinese Turkestan, New Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, N° 5-6, Bombay 1944.

162) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, II: Les textes historiques, J. A.*, 9e série, tome IX, 1897, p. 14.

163) O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abhandl. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Berlin 1904, Phil.-hist. Abhandl. I, pp. 91-92.

164) *Ch'ien han shu*, Chapter 96 A, transl. by A. WYLIE, *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.*, vol. X, 1881, p. 36.

165) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, II: Les textes historiques, J.A.*, 9e serie, tome IX, 1897, p. 22.

166) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, pp. 120-121.

CHARAN GHOSH draws attention [167]), viz. that although PAN KU gives a long account of Chi-pin, describing it as "a great kingdom", FAN YEH does not say a word about this country. The only conclusion which can be drawn from this is that in 25 A.D. Chi-pin had been incorporated already into the Yüeh-chih kingdom. The other interesting question is the fact that PAN KU as well as FAN YEH mention *one* capital of the Ta-yüeh-chih realm. Consequently Kujūla Kadphises had no doubt subjugated the other four hsi-hou already before 25 A.D.

Perhaps we can define yet more closely, which occasion induced Kujūla Kadphises to seize the power over the other four hsi-hou. JUSTINUS relates the following about the events in Parthia in the year 27 B.C.: "Qua victoria insolentior Phrahates redditus, cum multa crudeliter consuleret, in exsilium a populo suo pellitur. Itaque cum magno tempore finitimas civitates, ad postremum Scythas precibus fatigasset, Scytharum maxime auxilio in regnum restituitur." [168])

It is not wholly impossible that Kujūla Kadphises took advantage of the absence of this Scythian army and its leaders to procure power for himself. In the words of the *Hou han shu:* "More than a hundred years afterwards the hsi-hou of Kuei-shuang, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io, attacked and vanquished the other four hsi-hou and made himself king. His kingdom was called Kuei-shuang. He invaded An-hsi and seized the territory of Kao-fu; further he triumphed over P'u-ta and Chi-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'io died more than eighty years old." [169]) The invasion in An-hsi, id est Parthia, is in this case probably the Parthian kingdom of Gondophernes and his successors, and not the Parthia of the Arsacids. Further, we hear of the conquest of Kao-fu, id est Kābul. The coins again confirm the accuracy of the Chinese data for the reverse of the coins of Hermaeus, the last Hellenistic king

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167) HARI CHARAN GHOSH, *The Date of Kaniṣka, I.H.Q.*, vol. V, 1929, pp. 49-80, esp. p. 64.

168) JUSTINUS, XLII. 5. 4-5.

169) *Hou han shu,* Ch. 118, E. CHAVANNES, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han chou, T'oung Pao,* série II, tome VIII, 1907, pp. 187 seq.

of Kābul, shows the head of Kujūla Kadphises which proves a taking-over of power by this last-mentioned king. There exists a controversy as to where Pu'ta is situated. MARQUART, FRANKE [170]) and KONOW [171]) think it is Arachosia; CHAVANNES does not agree with them. The identification of Chi-pin has also been the object of considerable discussions. According to LÉVI it was Kapiśa [172]). CHAVANNES thought that in these times Chi-pin was used by the Chinese to indicate Kaśmir [173]). SMITH proposed Gandhāra combined with Kaśmir [174]). PELLIOT refuted the identification of Chi-pin as Kapiśa [175]). Lastly TARN proposed to regard Chi-pin as the old name Kophen for Kābul [176]). This last supposition seems to be the most acceptable in connection with the use of Chi-pin in the description in the *Ch'ien han shu* [177]) of the peregrinations of the Śakas in the end of the 2nd century B.C., but in the just cited passage from the *Hou han shu* it would be pleonastic if it were said that Kujūla Kadphises took Kao-fu = Kābul and annexed Chi-pin. Probably Chi-pin has in this text already acquired the more general significance of a name for the districts south of Hindu-Kush in possession of the Scythians. Perhaps it was this attack on Chi-pin which induced its king to send for help to China [178]) between 32-7 B.C. If we accept TARN's identification of the name of this King Yin-mo-fu as Hermaeus, the Chinese

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170) O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abhandl. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Berlin 1904, Phil.-hist. Abhandl. I, p. 99.

171) S. KONOW and W. E. VAN WIJK, *The eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Acta Or.*, vol. III, 1925, pp. 52-91, esp. p. 64.

172) S. LÉVI, *Note rectificative sur le Ki-pin, J.A.*, 9e série, tome VII, 1896, pp. 161-162.

173) See p. 328, note 18 (p. 538, note 4).

174) V. SMITH, *The Śakas in Northern India, Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 61, 1907, pp. 403-421, esp. p. 419.

175) P. PELLIOT, *Tokharien et Koutchéen, J.A.*, tome 224, 1934, pp. 23-106, esp. p. 38, note 1.

176) TARN, Appendix 9, pp. 469-473.

177) *Ch'ien han shu,* Chapter 96 A, transl. by A. WYLIE, *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.*, vol. X, 1881, p. 34.

178) *Ch'ien han shu,* Chapter 96 A, transl. by A. WYLIE, *J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.*, vol. X, 1881, p. 36.

report would even be an argument for our date of Kujūla Kadphises. We do not, however, accept the ideas TARN launches on the base of the report [179]). During or after the annexation of Chi-pin by Kujūla Kadphises the conquest of Taxila most likely took place, as appears from the inscription on the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136.

After a long life of more than eighty years Kujūla Kadphises dies. His son Wima Kadphises, mentioned in the *Hou han shu* as Yen-kao-chen, succeeds him: "His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. In his turn he conquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yüeh-chih became extremely powerful. All the countries designate them calling (their king) the Kuei-shuang King, but the Han call them Ta-yüeh-chih, preserving their old appellation." [180]) The communication of the conquest of T'ien-chu shows that the authority of the Kuṣāṇas up till then was only nominal, just as probably was the case in Taxila. T'ien-chu, judging from the Chinese description of the country and the customs, was not North-West India, but a warmer part of India, namely, Sindhu, id est Indus-country. That the Chinese information regarding the expansion of territory under Wima is absolutely reliable, is shown by an inscription of this monarch dated in 187, id est 58 A.D., found at Khalatse in Lesser-Tibet.

THOMAS has lately demonstrated that the Han records mention the conquest also of Central India [181]). Mathurā, which probably after Śoḍāsa was lost by the Scythians was most likely included. In our opinion THOMAS' view is confirmed both by the large number of coins of Wima discovered at Mathurā, and by the inscription found there of the year 199 in which a mahārāja rājātirāja is mentioned with whom perhaps Wima Kadphises or a successor is indicated.

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179) TARN, pp. 339-350.

180) See note 169.

181) F. W. THOMAS, *Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka: Tung-li, P'an-ch'i and Chinese Turkestan, New Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, N° 5-6, 1944.

It seems exceedingly unlikely to us that as RAPSON thinks, a third Kuṣāṇa king Kujūla Kara Kadphises existed [182]. We readily join in with the arguments which KONOW advances against this [183]. Nor does Kadphises I seem to be another person than Kadaphes, as GARDNER thinks [184].

We know very little about the reigns of either of the Kadphises kings. KONOW supposes that Sirkap was destroyed by Kujūla Kadphises in 65 A.D., the year to which he ascribes the inscription of Panjtār [185]. However, on account of the numerous coins of Kujūla Kadphises found at Sirkap it is in our opinion impossible to evade the conclusion that the city was still inhabited during his reign. Sir JOHN MARSHALL's opinion, that Taxila was sacked by the Kuṣāṇas, is based on the duck-vase of Jihoṇika, the date of which, in his opinion, is the middle of the 1st century A.D. [186]. According to him, coins have been found in Sirkap "up to" Wima Kadphises, while no coins of Soter Megas, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka or Vāsudeva have been discovered [187]. This statement clearly shows that Sirkap was still inhabited during Kujūla Kadphises' reign, and that it was not sacked by Kujūla Kadphises, as KONOW thinks, but, at earliest, only after Kujūla Kadphises.

MARSHALL appears to have been uncertain for a long time whether coins of Wima Kadphises were found at Sirkap or not. Still in 1915 he believed that coins of Wima were met with at Sirkap [188]. Afterwards KONOW doubted this and suggested that the coins of Wima found at Sirkap with the legend MAHARAJASA

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182) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 582.

183) *Corpus*, pp. LXIV-LXV.

184) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, p. XLIX.

185) S. KONOW, *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 957.

186) J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed., p. 97.

187) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1912-'13, pp. 42-45, esp. p. 44.

188) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka, J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 191-196, esp. p. 196, hence GHIRSHMAN deducts that Sirkap was inhabited till Kaniṣka's accession. R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. 140 note 2 and p. 176.

RAJATIRAJASA KHUṢAṆASA YAVUGASA, should be ascribed to his father, on account of the title "yavuga" [189]). RAPSON, on the contrary, is convinced that the coins do indeed belong to Wima Kadphises [190]).

BACHHOFER, at the time, undeniably demonstrated that the coins mentioning a certain Soter Megas were struck during the reign of Wima Kadphises [191]). His conclusion that Wima and Soter Megas are identical does not seem convincing to us. There is not one sound argument that can be brought forward against KONOW's view [192]), that Soter Megas was the viceroy of Wima Kadphises in India, mentioned in the *Hou han shu* [193]). On the other hand there are neither decisive proofs in favour of it, so the best thing is to leave this question undecided. As the coins of Soter Megas have decidedly not been found at Sirkap, the possibility is great that Sirkap was deserted after Kujūla Kadphises and before Wima Kadphises, and it is inevitable to assume that it was Wima who destroyed the city during his conquest of territories, parts of which had perhaps previously been in the possession of his father. The city of Sirsukh was probably built during Wima's reign, for although many coins of Kujūla Kadphises have also been discovered at Sirsukh, that is no proof that he founded the town, as, in general, coins of earlier kings remain in circulation long afterwards. The presence of a coin never proves that the place of discovery is as old or as late as the coin itself. The stratum can just as well be later, and can only be older if the later coin was laid in the stratum either as a votive offering, or as a hidden treasure. The absence of a certain sort of coin at a spot where a sequence of coins is found points to a desertion of the place at the time when that particular species of coin came into use.

The fact that it was Wima Kadphises who destroyed Sirkap is

189) *Corpus*, pp. LXIV seq.
190) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 581.
191) L. BACHHOFER, *Die Ära Kanishkas, O.Z.*, Neue Folge, vol. IV, 1927-'28, pp. 21-43, esp. pp. 32-33.
192) S. KONOW and W. E. VAN WIJK, *The eras in the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Acta Or.*, vol. III, 1925, pp. 52-91, esp. p. 65; *Corpus*, p. LXIX.
193) See note 169.

proved, we think, by the discovery by Sir JOHN MARSHALL of a hoard of coins at Sirkap, consisting of coins of Gondophernes, Pakura, and Kujūla Kadphises. In view of Wima's attack people hid their money consisting of coins of the three last great kings of that time. RAPSON [194]) believes that the coins of Kujūla Kadphises out of the just-mentioned hoard belonged to Wima, as MARSHALL himself at first thought, but a hoard consisting of coins of three successive rulers is more likely than a group of coins of Gondophernes, Pakura, and Wima Kadphises, as in that case it would be difficult to explain why those of Kujūla Kadphises are altogether missing. This hoard therefore might at the same time be an argument for KONOW's view about those coins of Kujūla or Wima discussed above.

Judging from the coins, Sirkap was again inhabited in later times, but the importance of the city was transferred to Sirsukh. Undoubtedly this city has also suffered from turbulent times resulting from its geographical situation near the gateway to India. Shortly afterwards Kaniṣka's great march of conquest swept over Sirsukh, but we do not know whether this city was destroyed then or not. Probably this expedition was the reason why the Jihoṇika vase was buried. An objection could be that the vase was found at Sirkap, and that Sirkap had already been destroyed by Wima Kadphises. Against this we should like to point out, firstly, that it is not at all certain that Sirkap was quite deserted, secondly, that the genitive in the inscription on the Jihoṇika vase unquestionably indicates that the vase was a votive gift of Jihoṇika to some sanctuary. Dozens of inscriptions which strongly resemble that of Jihoṇika have been discovered on stones, rims of wells, reliquaries, and on ritual objects, such as sieves, spoons, dishes, jugs, lamps, etc., etc. These inscriptions frequently mention the word *daṇa,* or *daṇamukha,* by which it is clear that they are votive inscriptions, but these words are often omitted [195]). From the in-

194) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 580-581.

195) For instance, in the inscriptions on two silver cups from Sirkap, *Corpus,* pp. 97-98; on a silver plate with three legs, *Corpus,* p. 98; on a jar, *Corpus,* p. 122; on a bas-relief, *Corpus,* p. 134; on a silver disk from Maṇikiāla, *Corpus,* p. 151.

scription it appears, therefore, that the vase was dedicated by Jihoṇika and, moreover, that judging from the terminology the ruling monarch is not Jihoṇika, as GHIRSHMAN thinks [196]), but a mahārāja rājātirāja. Concluding, we should like to point out that the genitive in the inscription does not indicate that Jihoṇika ruled in the year 191, as KONOW thinks, but that he was the donor of the vase.

Now it is very probable that the sanctuary or temple to which Jihoṇika gifted the silver vase was not transferred to Sirsukh after the desertion of Sirkap, but remained on the original precincts at Sirkap, or, if destroyed, was even rebuilt there. It is a well-known fact that shrines are very firmly bound to their geographical situations, and are seldom removed unless the dispersal of the people takes on the character of a mass-emigration; even examples of a succeeding nation taking over the cultic centres of its predecessors are legio; we remind the reader, for example, of Delphi, the Adam's Peak, and the many mosques built upon the ruins of Hindu temples. But there are still many more examples that could be mentioned, all of which are a confirmation of the lasting character of sacred precincts. It seems to us possible therefore, that the Jihoṇika vase was buried at the approach of Kaniṣka's troops together with the other votive gifts, which have also been rediscovered.

Although still presuming in 1929 that Jihoṇika was a contemporary of Wima, KONOW changed his mind in 1932 and said concerning the silver vase: "The silver vase with inscription of the (Sa)ka [197]) year 191, during the reign of Jihoṇika, was found

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196) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* p. 140.

197) KONOW changed his mind with regard to this *(Sa)ka* several times. In 1929 he said: "Ka is evidently the first akshara of the record", *Corpus,* p. 82. In 1932 he thought he could read *(Sa)ka,* see *Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, J.I.H.*, vol. XII, 1933, p. 3, and *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 954. In 1948 he again returns to *ka* without any character in front of it, *Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303, Acta Or.*, vol. XX, 1948, p. 115.

in Sirkap, and consequently belongs to the pre-Kuṣāṇa period." [198]) KONOW therefore placed Jihoṇika as kṣatrapa in the time of the kṣatrapas of Mathurā, such as Śoḍāsa, who, according to him, lived in 14 A.D. WHITEHEAD considered Jihoṇika as belonging to the dynasty of Gondophernes and therefore a Parthian [199]). As we saw, Sirkap was not destroyed by Kujūla Kadphises, and so Jiho-

	Σ →	[→	C	O →	□
Maues					
Spalahora					
Azes					
Gondophernes	*)				
Abdagases		**)	← Jihoṇika		
Kujūla Kadphises					
Wima Kadphises					
Jihoṇika					
Kaniṣka					
Huviṣka					
Vāsudeva I					

*) WHITEHEAD, *Num. Chron.*, 5th Series, vol. XX, p. 118.
**) We have not been able to trace this coin-specimen.

Textfig. 29. Development of sigma and omikron on the Scythian coins

ṇika does not necessarily belong to the Pre-Kuṣāṇa period. Moreover, a kṣatrapa in the Kuṣāṇa period is not unusual. We find, for example, the kṣatrapas Kharapallāna and Vanaspara in an inscription from Sārnāth of the year 3 under Kaniṣka. Finally a

198) S. KONOW, *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 957.
199) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 95.

decisive argument: We have traced the changing of the sigma and omikron on the coins of eleven kings who succeed each other. The results can be found in textfig. 29. We have indicated where according to KONOW and WHITEHEAD Jihoṇika ought to be inserted in the sequence. However, as the coins of Jihoṇika display only the round form of sigma and omikron, it seems impossible to insert Jihoṇika before Wima Kadphises, and we are forced to date him later. In our opinion, there is no objection to regard Jihoṇika as a kṣatrapa of the Kuṣāṇa period. We think that it is clear from all that has gone before, that the inscription of the year 191 does not use its own era, but belongs to the whole remaining group, and therefore must be reckoned as belonging to the old era, so that 191 is equal to 62 A.D.; Jihoṇika, son of Maṇigula, the brother of the mahārāja rājātirāja, is probably the nephew and heir-presumptive of Wima Kadphises. The title "mahārāja rājātirāja" of his uncle reminds one strongly of the customary Kuṣāṇa title in the inscriptions of 122 and 136 of the old era and of the passage about the Kuṣāṇa kings in FERISHTA's introduction to his history, in which Jihoṇika is probably mentioned as the nephew who succeeded his uncle *King Mahārāj* (Wima Kadphises) [200]. Further the name of Maṇigula probably points to a Scythian name judging from the second half, which we find back again in e.g. Abu*hola,* Ra*jula,* Ku*jūla,* and Mihira*gula.* A last argument that pleads for a date for Jihoṇika directly or nearly directly after Wima Kadphises is the fact that these two, as well as Kujūla Kadphises, struck coins with the same mint-stamp [201].

Besides the coins and inscriptions there is yet one concrete relic of Wima Kadphises that has reached us, his statue in stone, discovered in the devakula at Māṭ. The inscription on the image mentions his name as "mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra kuṣaṇaputra ṣahi vema takṣama". VOGEL, who read "Vamatakṣama" [202],

200) See Ch. I, p. 26.
201) *Corpus,* p. 77.
202) J. PH. VOGEL, *Explorations at Mathurā, A.S.I.A.R.,* 1911-'12, pp. 120-133, esp. pp. 124-125.

thought that from this he was able to deduce the existence of a Kuṣāṇa king Vamatakṣama, and up till now this is accepted by several scholars [203]). The arguments brought forward by JAYASWAL in favour of the identification of the image as Vema = Vima = Wima seem to us to be convincing [204]). His statement that the inscription mentions the year 6 of the era of Kaniṣka, however, does not seem proved to us. Perhaps there was a short gap between the reign of Wima and the accession to the throne by Kaniṣka, during which Jihoṇika might have reigned, for he minted coins independently already as "maharajabhrataputra", although still only a mahākṣatrapa. Another possibility is that Jihoṇika was the governor of India mentioned by the *Ch'ien han shu.* The fact that an image of Kaniṣka was also found in the devakula at Māṭ indicates that some connection or other must have existed between these two kings. Several possibilities exist, one of which might be that the Indian part of Wima's realm crumbled away, and that this Scythian kingdom was restored by Kaniṣka. Another possibility is that Kaniṣka attacked the successor of Wima, claiming that he had more rights to the throne. Be this as it may, once more a Scythian invasion swept over North India, marking the beginning of a new dynasty which lasted for at least one hundred years.

KONOW, in order to determine the starting-point of the Kaniṣka era, used two astronomical data which are found in inscriptions of his dynasty. The Zeda inscription of the year 11 connects the nakṣatra Uttaraphālgunī with the 20th of Āṣāḍha, and the Uṇḍ record of the year 61 connects the nakṣatra Pūrvāṣādha with the 8th of Caitra. VAN WIJK calculated for KONOW which years of the Kaliyuga according to the Sūryasiddhānta would best answer these conditions. Several possibilities arose, namely the years 79, 117, and 134 A.D. Calculating according to the Āryasiddhānta

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203) Inter alia KONOW, *Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134, J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 963, and R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* p. 140.

204) K. P. JAYASWAL, *The Statue of Wema Kadphises and Kushan Chronology, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. VI, 1920, pp. 12-22.

he found that the year 117 A.D. appeared to be the only suitable one [205]). KONOW chose from all these possibilities the one that seemed to him most convenient, namely 134 A.D. as he was convinced that Kaniṣka could not have begun to reign before the year 125 A.D. [206]).

This last assumption is not at all decisive as we have seen, for although FAN YEH remarks that he has drawn mainly from PAN YUNG's records when composing the history of the later Han dynasty as far as the western frontier is concerned, (and this implies that only facts up till 125 would have been related by FAN YEH, as PAN YUNG only gives news till about 125 A.D.), yet, as we saw, he does mention facts which occurred after that time [207]), so the "terminus post quem" 125 A.D. for Kaniṣka does not exist. On the contrary, as Kaniṣka probably succeeded Wima (perhaps after only a short interval in which Jihoṇika might have reigned) he cannot have ascended the throne much later than about 100 years after Kujūla Kadphises started on his career, and therefore probably about the end of the 1st century A.D. Moreover, when tabulating the dates of the inscriptions we noticed that there was a gap of about 100 years in the group of inscriptions dated in the old era, beginning after the year 200, id est 71 A.D. which could be excellently filled up by the group of inscriptions of Kaniṣka's dynasty which cover a century; all this would indicate that Kaniṣka's reign began shortly after 71 A.D.

We should like to draw attention to the remarkable coincidence that VAN WIJK found the year 79 to be one of the three possibilities for the epoch of the Kaniṣka era if the data given in the inscriptions of Zeda and Uṇḍ are used as a starting-point. If the years were counted as having elapsed as is done in many chronological systems especially in the North Indian ones, this means that the year

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205) W. E. VAN WIJK, *The eras in the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions,. Calculation of the Kharoṣṭhī dates, Acta Or.*, vol. III, 1925, pp. 79 91.

206) S. KONOW and W. E. VAN WIJK, *The eras in the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Acta Or.*, vol. III, 1925, p. 78.

207) See pp. 369-370.

calculated by VAN WIJK [208]) as the starting-point of the Kaniṣka era, is exactly the year 1 of the Śaka era [209]).

HARI CHARAN GHOSH has pointed out that a date as late as 125 A.D. or later, for Kaniṣka's ascendancy is also impossible on account of the fact that Vāsiṣka is mentioned in an inscription of the year 28 of the Kaniṣka era at Sanchi, while Rudradāman is known to have ruled over that part of the country about 150 A.D., which would clash with the idea that Vāsiṣka ruled there at the same time; consequently Kaniṣka came to the throne before 125 A.D. [210]).

We have already pointed out that it is quite inacceptable that the Western Kṣatrapas,who used the Śaka era and who were the vassals of Kaniṣka and his successors, used another era than their feudal lords. As we saw, KONOW tried to explain this by saying that they were the vassals of Wima Kadphises, but this cannot be maintained and has recently again been refuted by THOMAS [211]). Moreover Wima himself appears not even to have used this Śaka era (which KONOW thought he instituted) but the old era.

One of the arguments which has been continually brought forward in favour of the idea that Kaniṣka was not the founder of the Śaka era, is that the anonymous king mentioned as sending an expedition from India to the North against the Chinese in the year 90 A.D. under a general Sie, who was forced to retreat [212]), could not possibly have been the famous Kaniṣka [213]). But

208) Some years later VAN WIJK reconsidered his opinion expressed in *Acta Or.*, vol. III, 1925, pp. 79-91; see *On dates in the Kaniṣka Era, Acta Or.*, vol. V, 1927, pp. 168-170.

209) In 1928 HARI CHARAN GHOSH investigated in an opposite direction whether the information derived from the Zeda inscription, if assigned to the Śaka era, also tallied, which was indeed the case, *The Date of Kaniṣka, I.H.Q.*, vol. IV, 1928, pp. 760-764.

210) Ibidem, vol. V, 1929, pp. 49-80, esp. p. 80.

211) F. W. THOMAS, *Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka: Tung-li, P'an-ch'i and Chinese Turkestan, New Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, N° 5-6, 1944.

212) J. A. M. DE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire, traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou*, Paris 1777, vol. III, pp. 393-394.

213) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, II: Les textes historiques, J.A.*, 9e

FRANKE, who for the rest incorrectly dated Kaniṣka before the Kadphises kings [214]), rightly pointed out that, if this anonymous king had been either Kujūla Kadphises or Wima Kadphises, it is incomprehensible why the general PAN CH'AO, who recorded this event, omitted to mention the name of the king, although he knew the names of Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises quite well, as appears from other parts of his narrative [215]). Moreover, the anonymous Indian Yüeh-chih king who sent his viceroy to fight the Chinese could not be Wima Kadphises as the latter did not reside in India, and on the contrary had appointed a general as viceroy in India. Further we do not see why it is impossible that Kaniṣka, even if he were glorified on account of his zeal for Buddhism, could not have undergone a political reverse. The Chinese victory, moreover, cannot have been very effective, for in 107 the Chinese court calls back its officers from the Hsi-yü till 119 A.D. [216]).

Another argument brought forward against the opinion that Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era is that this era was not a northern one [217]). This is not true. The Śaka era was only temporarily superseded by the Gupta era and pretty soon after the fall of that dynasty the Śaka era was used again. The supposition that this was the first time that the Śaka era came into favour in North India is wrong.

Other arguments can be given. LÉVI related from a Chinese source, the *Fu fa ts'ang yin yüan ch'uan,* a narrative in which an expedition to the North is referred to, during which King Kaniṣka

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série, tome IX, 1897, pp. 5-26, esp. p. 26; A. M. BOYER, *L'époque de Kaniṣka, J.A.,* 9e série, tome XV, 1900, pp. 526-579, esp. p. 549.

214) O. FRANKE, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Abh. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.,* 1904, Phil.-hist. Abhandl. I, p. 94.

215) Ibidem, p. 72.

216) J. A. M. DE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire, traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou,* vol. III, p. 403.

217) A. M. BOYER, *Nahapāna et l'ère Çaka, J.A.,* 9e série, tome X, 1897, pp. 120-151, esp. pp. 144-145.

is murdered [218]). A similar tale is related by the well-known Chinese globe-trotter HSÜAN TSANG [219]). This campaign is most probably the same as that related by PAN CH'AO, and shows in our opinion that even in Buddhist tradition which glorifies Kaniṣka to such an extent, his defeat was not thought impossible. Moreover, if it were not Kaniṣka who was defeated, then we would have to assume with KONOW that first Wima Kadphises (or with GHIRSHMAN Kujūla Kadphises) was defeated and after that again Kaniṣka, which would not be in accordance with the growing expansion of the Yüeh-chih power.

We would not like to add as an argument the point brought forward by LÉVI that Kaniṣka is mentioned as Sandanes in the *Periplus* [220]), for the date of the *Periplus* is not yet fixed and some scholars think it has to be dated earlier than 80 A.D. However, this does not include that we deny LÉVI's idea that "chan-t'an" in the Chinese texts is a title of Kaniṣka, an equivalent for "Candana". On the other hand we would not dare to fix a date for the *Periplus* on the ground of the information it gives about India, as GHIRSHMAN does [221]).

HARI CHARAN GHOSH draws attention to some passages from twelve Chinese texts translated by MASPERO [222]), in which we are told how Emperor Ming saw the Buddha in a dream, after which he sent an embassy to India, in order to gain information about Buddhism. There seems to be little doubt when comparing the different texts that they pertain to the Yüeh-chih realm in India. The Chinese mission must have taken place between the years 61

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218) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, I: Les contes, J.A.* 9e série, tome VIII, 1896, pp. 444-484, esp. pp. 482-483.

219) S. BEAL, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World,* London 1906, vol. I, pp. 56 seq.; TH. WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D.,* ed. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Oriental Translation Fund,* New Series, vol. XIV, London 1904, p. 124.

220) S. LÉVI, *Kaniṣka et Sātavāhana, J.A.,* 1936, pp. 61-121. See also A. BANERJI-SASTRI, *Date of Kanishka vindicated, J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. 23, 1937, pp. 113-117.

221) R. GHIRSHMAN, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans,* p. 125.

222) H. MASPERO, *Le songe et l'ambassade de l'Empereur Ming, B.E.F.E.O.,* tome X, Hanoi 1910, pp. 95-130.

and 75 A.D. A propos of this GHOSH says: "The Ta Yueh-chi king during that epoch was certainly not Kaniṣka. The edifying Buddhist texts would never have missed the chance of associating the honoured name of the great emperor with the formal introduction of Buddhism in China." 223)

From the same texts it is, moreover, clear, we think, that between 61 and 75 T'ien-chu, id est India, had already been occupied by the Yüeh-chih, which as we have seen before was the work of Wima Kadphises. Consequently this monarch must have reigned about or before that time.

A further argument which the Chinese texts as well as the—in our opinion reliable—tradition give us, is, that Buddhism was strongly promoted by Kaniṣka's zeal. In case the theories which date Kaniṣka somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. would be right, then his conversion to the Buddhist faith and his protection of it would fall in the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. or even later. This seems unlikely as we know from the Chinese texts that Buddhism had already spread widely over Central Asia in the end of the 1st century A.D.

This long series of arguments added to those in Chapter I, must, we think, be sufficient to accept the fact that Kaniṣka was the king who instituted the Śaka era. The *Kālakācāryakathānaka* is therefore quite trustworthy when it says:

"to sūri-pajjuvāsaya-
Sāhiṃ rāyāhirāyam aha kāuṃ
bhuṃjaṃti rajja-sukkhaṃ
sāmaṃta-paiṭṭhiyā sesā.
Sagakūlāo jeṇaṃ
samāgayā, teṇa te Sagā jāyā;
evaṃ Saga-rāīṇaṃ
eso vaṃso samuppanno.
....
kāl'-aṃtareṇa keṇai
uppāḍittā Sagāṇa taṃ vaṃsaṃ

223) HARI CHARAN GOSH, *The Date of Kaniṣka, I.H.Q.*, vol. V, 1929, p. 71.

jão Mālava-rāyā
nāmeṇaṃ Vikkamāicco.
....
tassa vi vaṃsaṃ uppā-
ḍiūṇa jāo puṇo vi Sagarāyā
Ujjeṇi-pura-varīe
paya-paṃkaya-paṇaya-sāmaṃto.
paṇatīse vāsa-sae
Vikkama-saṃvaccharassa volīṇe
parivattiūṇa ṭhavio
jeṇaṃ saṃvaccharo niyao.
Saga-kāla-jāṇaṇ'-atthaṃ
eyaṃ pāsaṃgiyaṃ samakkhāyaṃ
mūla-kahā-saṃbaddhaṃ,
pagayaṃ ciya bhannae iṇhiṃ." [224])

In the translation of JACOBI:

"Nachdem sie den dem Weisen ergebenen Shāhi zum Oberkönige gemacht, geniessen die Uebrigen die Freuden der Herrschaft, selbst zu Lehnsfürsten erhoben. Weil sie von Çakakūla kamen, deshalb heissen sie Çaka. So entstand diese Dynastie der Çakakönige......... Nach einiger Zeit erhob sich der König von Mālava mit Namen Vikramāditya, nachdem er die Dynastie der Çaka gestürzt hatte.........Dessen Dynastie stürzend ward wieder ein Çaka (viz. Kaniṣka or his vassal in Ujjayinī) in der herrlichen Stadt Ujjayinī König, vor dessen Fusslotus alle Lehnsfürsten sich neigten.

Als 135 Jahre der Vikrama-Aera verflossen, führte er seinerseits seine eigene Aera ein.

Zur Kenntniss der Çaka-Aera ist diese Episode erzählt. Der Gegenstand, welcher zur Haupterzählung gehört, wird jetzt fortgesetzt." [225])

Kaniṣka, therefore, reigned from 78 until at least 101 A.D.; in 102 his son Vāsiṣka appears to have succeeded him until, in any

224) Verses 62, 63, 65, 69, 70, and 71.

225) H. JACOBI, *Das Kālakācārya-Kathānakam*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 34, 1880, pp. 247-318, esp. pp. 266-267 and 286.

case, 106 A.D. Then we have inscriptions of Huviṣka from the years 33 until 60 of the Śaka era, id est 111-138 A.D. and of Vāsudeva from the years 74 until 98, id est 152-176 A.D.

In Chapter Six we have seen that even after Vāsudeva Kuṣāṇas still ruled in Madhyadeśa, and clung to the era installed by their ancestor Kaniṣka, while also afterwards, when we hear no more about Kuṣāṇa rulers in that part of India, the Śaka era remained in use until it was temporarily replaced by that of the Guptas, to come into use again after the downfall of that dynasty. The Śaka era further established itself via the Western Kṣatrapas in South India; and thence triumphantly spread over the whole of South-East Asia, where it remained in use for many centuries, under the name of "Śaka era" or "the era installed by the Śaka mahārāja". By that time Kaniṣka's name had been forgotten for a long time already; even in India itself it was only brought back to light after many centuries by the inscriptions and coins, but for us, who have endeavoured to piece together history from all kinds of evidence, the so-called era of the Śaka mahārāja is that of the Śaka monarch "par excellence", he who founded the great, flourishing Scythian kingdom in North India; who, in contrast to Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises, was the first to set into motion the process of assimilation and absorption by taking up residence in India for good and all; he, who by his patronage forwarded culture in all its branches: religion, art, literature, etc., etc.; he, who, in spite of his failure in the expedition against the Chinese, still must have been a great personality—King of Kings Kaniṣka.



LIST A

THE RULERS OF THE "SCYTHIAN" PERIOD

Group	Ruler	Date
Scythians in Ujjain and Mathurā	Bhūmaka	Beginning of the 1st Cent. B.C.
	Nahapāna	" " " " " "
	Rajula	± 70 B.C.
	[Kharaosta]	
	Śoḍāsa	± 65 - 57 B.C.
?	Moga	51 B.C. ?
Indo-Parthians	Maues	± 60 - ± 50 B.C.
	Vonones	± 60 - ± 50 B.C.
	Spalahora	± 60 - ± 45 B.C.
	Azes	± 50 - ± 30 B.C.
	Gondophernes	± 30 - ± 15 B.C.
	Abdagases	± 20 - ± 15 B.C.
	Pakores	± 15 - ± 10 B.C.
	Sapedana	± 15 - ± 10 B.C.
	Satavastra	± 15 - ± 10 B.C.
	Phraotes	First half of 1st Cent. A.D.
Kuṣāṇas	Kujūla Kadphises	± 25 B.C. - ± 35 A.D.
	Wima Kadphises	± 35 - 62 A.D. or later.
	Jihoṇika	± 70 A.D.
	Kaniṣka	78 - 101 A.D.
	Vāsiṣka	102 - 106 A.D.
	Huviṣka	111 - 138 A.D.
	Kaniṣka II	119 A.D.
	Vāsudeva I	152 - 176 A.D.
	Kaniṣka III	192 A.D.
?	Vaskuṣāṇa	200 A.D.
	Vāsudeva II	Beginning of the 3rd Cent. A.D.

LIST B

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE "SCYTHIAN" PERIOD

Chr. era	*Old Śaka era*	*Inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī in North-West India*	*Inscriptions in Brāhmī at Mathurā*	*Inscriptions in Brāhmī in Ujjain*
129 B.C.	1			
	20			
100 B.C.				
	40			
		58 Maira		
	60	60? Shahdaur		
		68 Mānsehrā, Fatehjang	72 Amohinī āyāgapaṭa	
		78 Taxila copper plate		
	80			
		81 Muchai		
		83 Kābul		
	100	100? Kala Sang		
		102 Mount Banj		
		103 Takht-i-Bāhī		
		104 Saddo		
		111 Pājā		
		113 Kāldarra		
		117? Mārguz		
	120			
		122 Panjtār		
1 A.D.		134 Kalawān		
		136 Taxila silver scroll		
	140			
	160			
		168 Peshāwar Museum		
	180			
		187 Khalatse		
		191 Jihoṇika vase		
			199 Mathurā (LÜDERS' *List* N° 78)	
	200	200 Dewai		Western Kṣatrapas
		Kaniṣka reliquary		
	220	Inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī of the Kaniṣka dynasty in Kaniṣka era	Inscriptions in Brāhmī at Mathurā	
100 A.D.				
	240			
	260			
	280			
		89 Mamāne Ḍherī		
	300			
		303 Chārsadda		
		318 Loriyān Tāṅgai		
	320			
200 A.D.				Inscriptions on coins from 1-312
	340			
		359 Jamālgaṛhī		
	360			
	380			
		384 Hashtnagar		
		399 Skārah Ḍherī		
	400			
	420			
300 A.D.				
	440			
	460			
	480			
	500			
	520			
400 A.D.				

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LIST C

THE CHARACTER *KU* IN BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT

LÜDERS' *List*	Kaniṣka year	LÜDERS' *List*	Kaniṣka year
N° 21	7	N° 24	15
42	58	25	18
34	59	27	19
56	60	32	25
62	77	36	31
63	77	37	32
70	86	39	35 or 39
		29	50
16	4	53	52
48	6	54	54
22a	9	58	62
23a	12	71	89

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

*) In the description under the illustrations read: Takht-i-Bāhī, and: Sahr-i-Bahlol, for: Takht-ī-Bāhī, and: Sahr-ī-Bahlol.

TEXTFIGURES

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N° 61 is a drawing from A. FOUCHER, *A.G.B.*, vol. II, fig. 596.

ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Or.:	*Acta Orientalia.*
A.G.B.:	A. FOUCHER, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* Paris 1905-1923.
A.J.A.:	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
Ancient India:	K. DE B. CODRINGTON, *Ancient India from the earliest times to the Guptas with notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediaeval Period,* London 1926.
Arch. Mitt. Iran:	*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.*
Arch. Surv. Rep.:	*Archaeological Survey Reports of India.*
A.S.I.A.R.:	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
B.E.F.E.O.:	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.*
Cat. Museum Math.:	*Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā.*
C.H.I.:	E. J. RAPSON, *The Cambridge History of India,* vol. I, *Ancient India,* Cambridge 1922.
Corpus:	S. KONOW, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. II, part I, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka,* Calcutta 1929.
Ep. Ind.:	*Epigraphia Indica.*
H.I.I.A.:	A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* London 1927.
I.H.Q.:	*The Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Ind. Ant.:	*The Indian Antiquary.*
J.A.:	*Journal Asiatique.*
J.A.I.Gr.Br.&I.:	*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*
J.A.O.S.:	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
J.A.S.B.:	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J.B.B.R.A.S.:	*Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J.B.O.R.S.:	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
J.I.H.:	*The Journal of Indian History.*
J.R.A.S.:	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
J.U.P.H.S.:	*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.*

LÜDERS' *List*:	H. LÜDERS, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest Times to about A.D. 400, with the exception of those of Aśoka, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. 10, Calcutta 1912.
M.A.S.I.:	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
Num. Chron.:	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
Origin Buddha Image:	A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *The Origin of the Buddha Image, The Art Bulletin*, vol. IX, N° 4, New York 1927.
O.Z.:	*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.*
R.A.A.:	*Revue des Arts Asiatiques.*
S.B.A.W.:	*Sitz. Ber. der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
TARN:	W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1938.
T.B.G.:	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*
W.Z.K.M.:	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Z.D.M.G.:	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

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FIGURES 1—72



1 Reliquary of Bīmarān



2. Reliquary of Kaniṣka found at Shāh-jī-kī Dherī



3. Relief of the stūpa of Sikrī, representing Indra's visit to Buddha



4. Relief of the stūpa of Sikrī, representing Buddha meeting the grass-cutter



5. Relief found in building L at Taxila



6. Relief found in building L at Taxila



7 Relief found at Begram



8 Relief at Berlin



9. Relief dated in the year 89 found at Mamāne Ḍherī



10. Buddha found at Loriyān Tāngai



11. Buddha found at Hashtnagar



12. Pedestal of the Buddha from Loriyān Tāngai



13. Pedestal of the Buddha from Hashtnagar



14 Standing Buddha from Takht-ī-Bāhī; Berlin Museum



15 Standing Buddha from Takht-ī-Bāhī



16 Seated Buddha found at Takht-ī-Bāhī, Berlin Museum



17. Seated Buddha from Sahr-ī-Bahlol



18. Standing Bodhisattva from Sahr-ī-Bahlol



19. Hārītī from Skārah Ḍherī



20. Stucco Buddha in Chapel N 18 at Taxila



21 Stucco images in the monastery at Mohṛā Morādu



22. Relief in the Lahore Museum



25 Seated Buddha, Berlin Museum



24 Seated Buddha, Lahore Museum



25 Relief in the Peshawar Museum



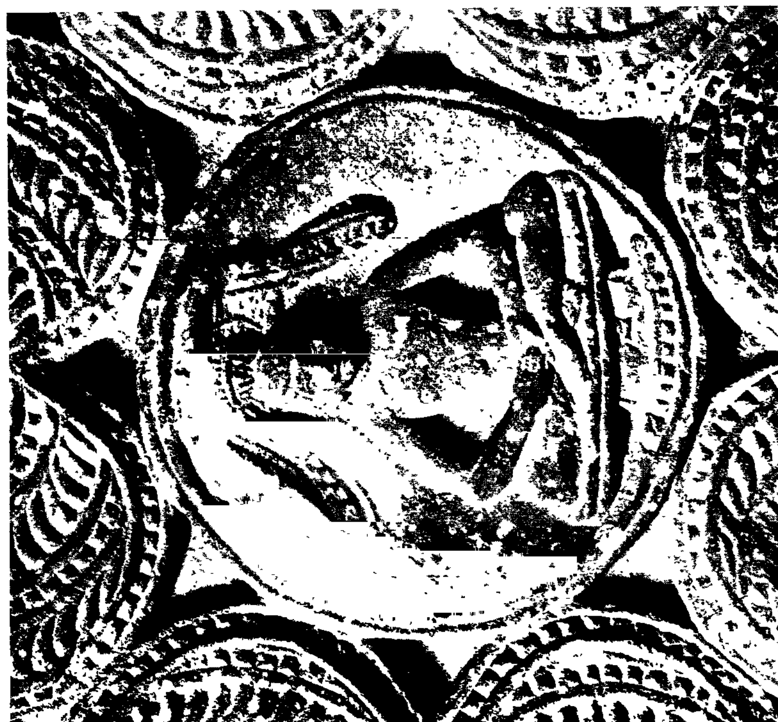
26. Seated Buddha from Sahr-ī-Bahlol



27 Relief on a stambha, Curzon Museum, Mathurā



29 Āyāgapaṭa dedicated by Āmohinī



28. Detail of an āyāgapaṭa (see frontispiece)



30 Standing Buddha of the kapardin type; Musée Guimet



31 Seated Buddha of the kapardin type found at Kaṭrā; Curzon Museum, Mathurā



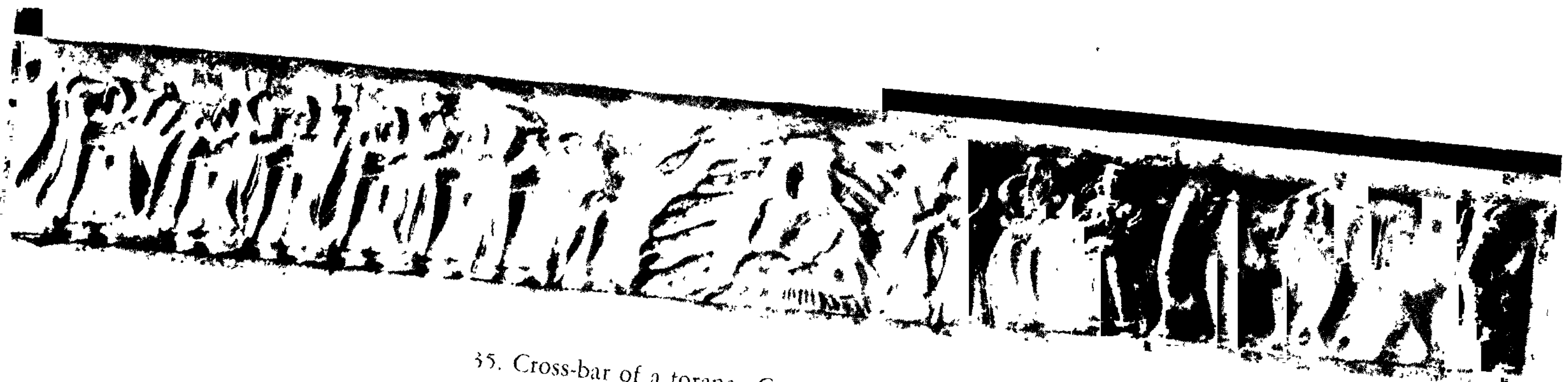
32. Seated Buddha of the kapardin type; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



33 Relief found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā, Lucknow Provincial Museum



34 Fragment in the Lucknow Provincial Museum



35. Cross-bar of a toraṇa; Curzon Museum, Mathurā



36. Standing Buddha from Mathurā



37. Seated Buddha; Indian Museum, Calcutta



38. Standing Yakṣa with purse from Mathurā



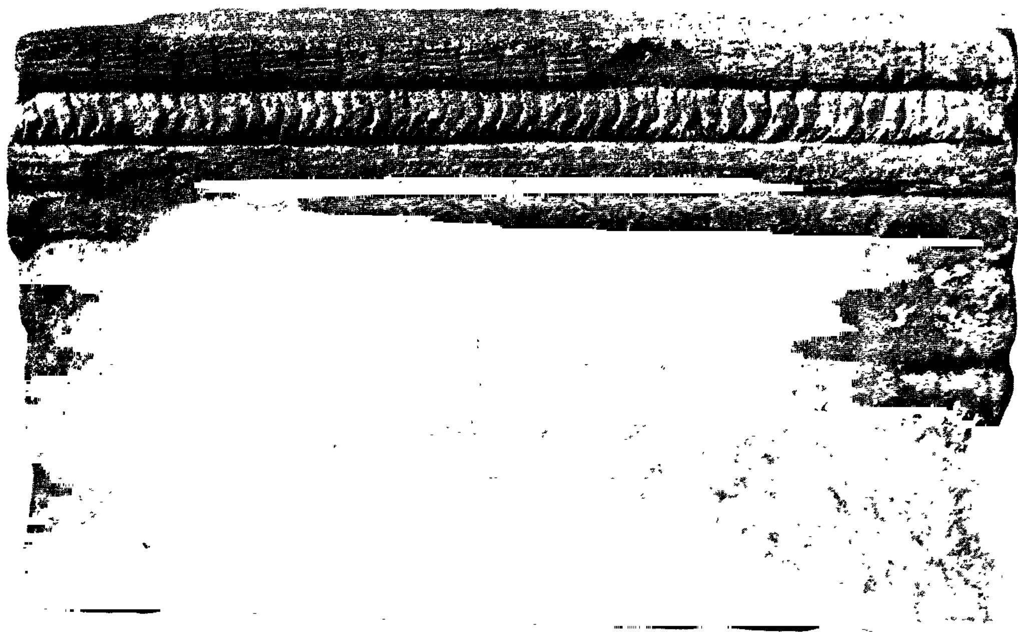
39. Buddha found at Anyor. Curzon Museum, Mathurā



40. Buddha in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



41. Buddha head from Gandhāra;
Ethnological Museum, Munich



42. Pedestal from Mathurā



43. Seated Buddha from Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh



44. Seated Buddha from Sītalā Ghāṭī



45. Seated Jina dated in the year 80

46. Two Jinas, both dated in the year 83



47. Fragment of a Jina image dated in the year 84



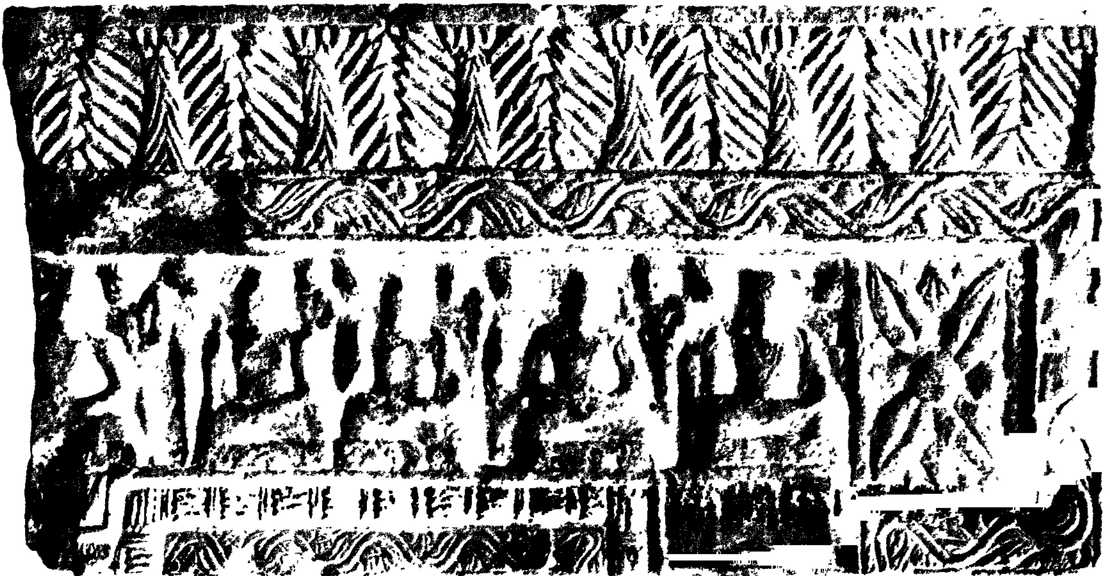
48. Seated Jina dated in the year 84



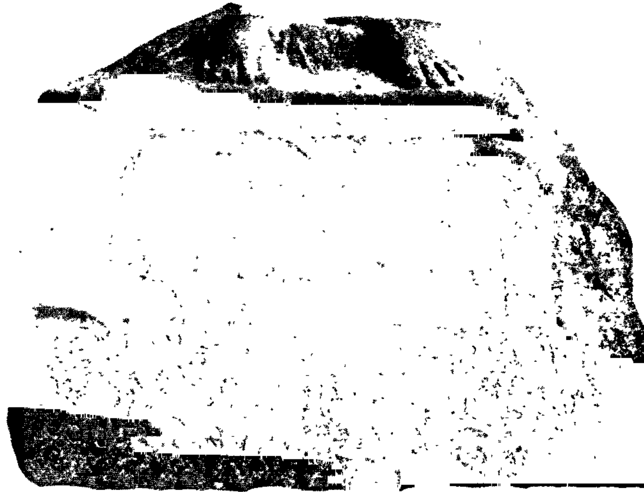
49. Seated Jina dated in the year 98



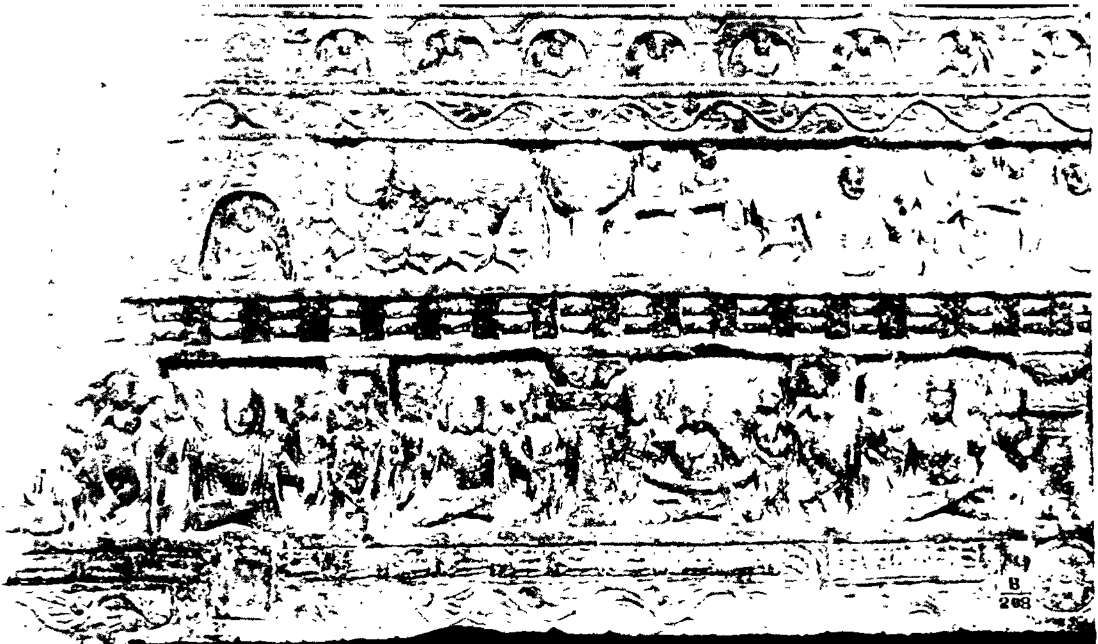
50. Fragment of a door-lintel from Mathurā



51 Fragment of a door-lintel from Mathurā



52 Fragment of a Jina image dated in the year 62



53 Fragment of a door-lintel from Mathurā



54. Seated Buddha dated in the year 22



55. Seated Jina dated in the year 57



56 Seated Jina dated in the year 12

57. Fragment of a Jina, 3rd century A.D.



HEAD OF A JAIN TIRTHANKARA.
MATHURA, circa 6TH CENTURY A D
Given by the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1901

58 Jina head, 2nd century A.D.



59. Sarasvatī image dated in the year 54



60. Seated Jina dated in the year 35 or 39



61. Seated Jina, 3rd century A.D.



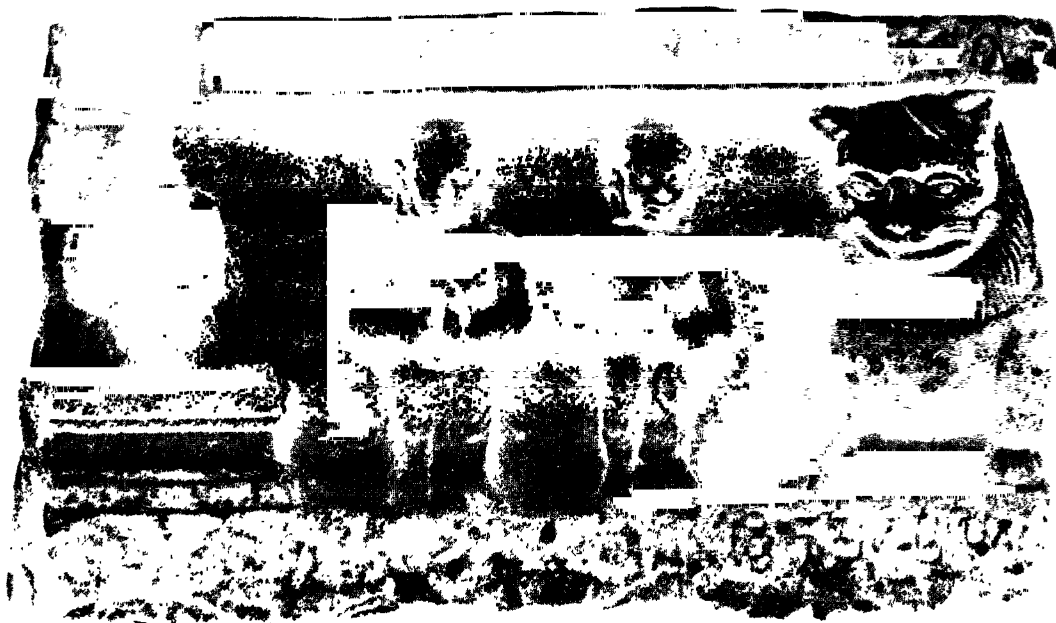
62 Seated Jina 3rd century A.D.



63 Image of Ariṣṭanemi dated in the year 18

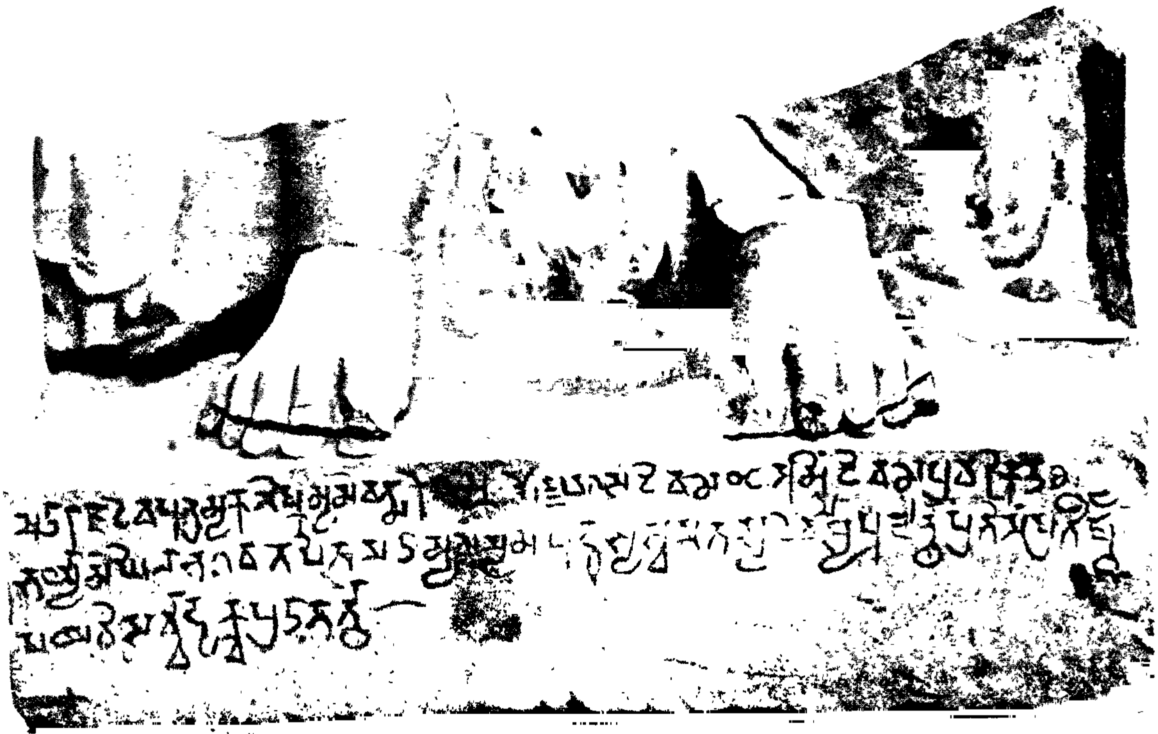


64 Standing Jina dated in the year 9

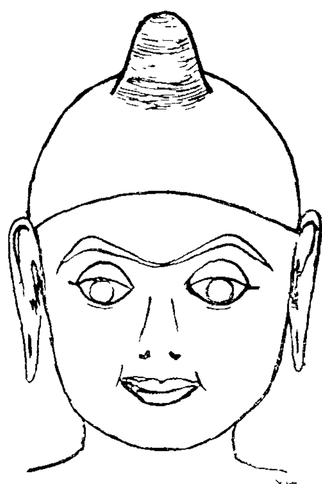


65. Fragment of a Gupta pedestal, probably dated in the year 97

66. Fragment of a Kusāṇa pedestal dated in the year 17 of Kaniṣka



67. Fragment of a Buddha image dated in the year 14



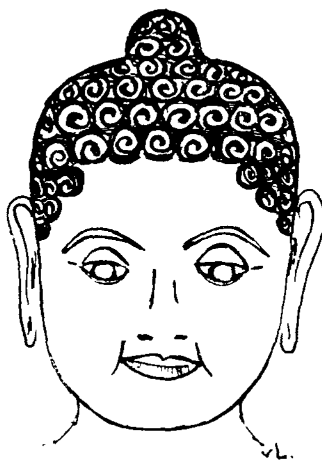
68. Kapardin type, almost smooth surface of the hair



69. First stage of influence from Gandhāra



70. Second stage of influence from Gandhāra



71. New national style



72. Gupta style